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AARON M POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor*

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THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION.—May 27, 1868.

AFTER the reading of the Resolutions a motion was made that they be adopted, which was accepted.

WENDELL PHILLIPS in support of the Resolutions said:

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

[We make up such report as we can, from different sources, of the speech which follows.—ED.]

I have been asked to explain the resolutions which I offered. I thought they were plain enough not to need an explanation. I think no one will doubt that the hour in which we meet, with news fresh from Washington, indicates very clearly the necessity of what may be called justly an Anti-Slavery organization. An organization to watch parties, to watch political action, to press and aid the government and to carry forward, so far as its means allow, radical action and movements. That it is needed, not only to present resolves, but to secure the permanent rights, the substratum of the rights of the colored race, no one will deny. This movement, which the Convention here assembled represents, is in its broad sense a movement distinctly to put the black race just where the white race stands in regard to political rights. We fall back on the democratic doctrine that one class is not to protect another class; that the wealth and the strength of one class are not to protect the feeble and the weak. The moment that we get into politics; the moment we get outside of Christianity and moral relations, that doctrine is essentially toryism. The 4th day of July, 1776, if it meant anything meant that every class should hold in its own hand the means of protecting itself. That is democracy. The great sin of the American government from 1789 down to 1863 was that it did not recognize this rule with regard to the black race. It recognized the rule that it was a white man's government, bound in no sense of justice to protect the black race. To-day in the upper Hall is met a most benevolent and high-toned meeting, assembled to grant education to the black race—a good movement and one deserving much sympathy and cordial support. But as long as any class needs aid to get education, we have not carried out with regard to them the theory on which our government rests. As long as they need aid to exercise any of their other rights they are not in the normal or proper condition. The movement to which this Convention allies itself is a movement to enable the black race to protect, educate and feed itself. That is the exact distinction between the two. I said that this was a peculiarly important hour for such a meeting. The vote recorded last night and brought to us in the journals of this morning, that the Senate surrenders impeachment, is the best text on which to speak. On this topic the government is a strong one—the strongest on the face of the earth. It stood the murder of Lincoln and hardly oscillated from its basis. It stood the treason of Johnson, and it stood the attempt to impeach him, showing the strength of a democratic government. The weakness which alarms us to-day is the weakness of the radical element in the dominant party; the weakness of that section of the dominant party which tries to put the black on his own feet. I read the news this morning as the best commentary on that. Many years ago I ventured to say that the negro elected Mr. Lincoln. I think he did. It was the negro again that placed suffrage in the republican platform. In the first debates in Congress in 1807, 1817 and 1820, the Missouri compromise, the territorial question between Webster and Haynes, in the omnibus question of 1850, in the revolution or the recent rebellion—in all these the only great historical question that will survive grew out of the negro question. The negro lies at the root of all the great critical difficulties of our government. Our fathers tried to enact injustice into a Constitutional law. They tried to run counter to the inexorable laws. For two or three generations we have been engaged in the effort, and unless we refrain we shall be dashed to pieces, for God will not sanction this great injustice. We are very slow to learn. To-day it was the negro that attempted to impeach Andrew Johnson, by which I mean the dispute between Congress and Johnson, which was only in reality a dispute between the two sections of the republican party, the radical and the conservative, the point at which that dispute occurred being the treatment of the negro. Mr. Johnson's first attempt to betray the North was to engraft a qualification of races and suffrage. The theory of Congress has been to preserve the status of the negro. In that effort Congress has been less by the radical element in the Republican party. Foiled, checked and deceived, outwitted here and there, the radical element has at last met its death grapple with its own conservative weakness. Symbolized by the traitor at the White House they have in that death grapple been defeated. They went up to Chicago and the same weakness was shown when the question was raised to read out of the ranks the traitors who deserted them in Washington; and what was called the practical good sense of the Convention—that is, the interest of the hour—returned for an answer that we are not strong enough to do it, and that is the very element which has defeated us. Johnson has had two years to counterwork Congress. All that time the element represented by Mr. Wade, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Sumner and Mr. Butler has been endeavoring to circumvent and grapple and chain down within legal limits the executive power. Defeated in that, they at last endeavored to remove the holder of the executive office. No one will deny that two-thirds of the nation deem him guilty of such high crimes and misdemeanors as merited removal. Perhaps if I should say three-quarters I should be nearer the truth, for there is a large section of the Democratic party who believe he should be deposed if there is any legality in the position of the Republican party. They made the attempt and they were defeated. They go to Chicago and they dare not join in battle again with that element in their own ranks which has defeated them. What is the warning to us? The warning is that the radical element—that which has carried us through the war; which initiated measure after measure; which naturally dragged up Trumbull and Fessenden and the section which they represent to their support, dragged them up by pure outside pressure—that element to-day stands checkmated. It is told in Washington, you shall not checkmate the White House; it is told in Chicago that you shall not even declare to the world your own defeat by the rebels in your own ranks. I say, therefore, friends, that we are at last informed that this element, on which we have all relied, has demonstrated and feels its own weakness. It is a well known maxim that power, safely defied, touches its own downfall. The Republican party has been safely defied; the White House has defied it; seven of its own Senators have defied it safely, and the lesson to be learned is, as I remarked before, that safely defied power touches its own downfall. I remember one of our own Senators told me a year ago touching this question—the strength of the radical element inside the party lines—that about a year ago, when the Senate met in caucus to decide preliminarily whether they would put into the Congressional policy of reconstruction negro suffrage—the point which distinguished the Congressional plan from the President's, the point which angers the President, the point on which his opposition turns—when the Republican Senators met in caucus to decide whether they would include that in their plan the vote stood fourteen to fourteen. It was a tie vote and it was lost, but the point was subsequently carried by a vote of fifteen to thirteen. In this thirteen were included the names of the seven traitors and the others who are called Conservative Republicans. The necessities of the Grant campaign demand the readmission of the ten Southern States. The radical element of the Northern States is not strong enough to elect without the votes of the negroes in the rebel States. Their speedy admission, therefore, we learn from the confession of Mr. Wilson and others, is necessary in order that a man honored and revered as is Gen. Grant should be elected. It is a confession of utter weakness. The party that elected Mr. Lincoln in 1864 dares not to-day to go into the field in the loyal States with Gen. Grant at their head and rely merely on the radical element. Having then discussed at some length the condition of the colored people at the South, Mr. Phillips spoke as follows about Chief Justice Chase and the proposed third party: Nothing so good as that will happen to us. Like the great apostate of Marshfield he has been bought with an offer; but he will be deceived. He was bought with an offer of the pottage, but not with the pottage, as all our Northern men have been again and again bought with an offer. The only man who seems to have done justice to Northern shrewdness is Ross in the Senate, who got his pay beforehand. (Applause). Heaven help those men who have disgraced themselves and are waiting afterwards for their reward! Oh, no, there is no hope for Mr. Chase's nomination. The only platform we shall have to rely upon is that of Chicago, and all that we can make out of politics must be made out of that. There is not radicalism enough in the nation to break away from the Republican party and run an independent candidate, no matter who he be. There is not strength enough, there is not faith enough in the people. All the reliance we have to-day is in the radical element of the Republican party. We are to help it, not by flattery, but by criticism. Charles Sumner does not want the flattery of the Chicago platform to-day. He is not content with it. Ben Wade does not want it, neither does Butler nor Boutwell. They long for something more; but that platform is the best thing they can hope to carry now inside of the party. What they claim of us as men who are free from the yoke of party is loyalty to principles, to press them on strongly and fearlessly, and this we mean to do and advance the Republican party onward with them. Gen. Grant, the nominee of the Republican party, has not any ideas himself. We are to give him his ideas. The question is what will be his standpoint. He means to get to heaven as every man means to get there; but some men mean to waste no virtue in reaching there. There are classes of men in the Republican party who mean to be just as radical as the occasion demands, but who do not mean to have any superfluity of radicalism. If the journals had done their duty and spoken fearlessly and explicitly the last six months, the Chicago platform would have been all that we need and Grant would have followed its dictations. We could have made our voices so effectual that the Republicans could have elected their candidate without admitting the ten States of the South in their present condition. I will tell you what would have effected Johnson's removal; what would have outwitted Fessenden, Chief Justice Chase and the other traitors. Any time from the 10th of September, 1865, to-day, eight words from the Man who stood at the head of the armies of the United States would have accomplished that object; but he failed to utter those eight words. If he had sent in his resignation, every word of that resignation would have been stronger than a Chief Justice and obtained more men than Woolley could have bought. As he has failed to act in the past, so in the coming four years, when critical moments shall arise, he will not meet the exigencies of the hour. He is but a speaking trumpet, and utters no words but those dictated by his backers. Our duty in the future is distinctly marked out. The negro stands with the bag for his food in his right hand and his ballot in his left, and until he has all his rights the duty of the Anti-Slavery party will not be fulfilled.

The Hutchinson brothers here came to the platform and gave the Convention their stirring song—

"A HUNDRED YEARS HENCE,"

which was much enjoyed and applauded.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER then addressed the Convention, pointing out that neither of the existing political parties was to be trusted and supported as faithful to freedom. Even the better of the two, the Republican party, has over and over again deserted and betrayed the negro. We must take our stand outside of both political parties, refusing our support until one of them proposes a worthy candidate. Until then we must not only criticise them remorselessly but make war upon them.

The Republican party really labored hard for impeachment, but did this only for its own success, not the rights of the negro; it is therefore not a party that we can support.

Mr. Foster proposed an amendment to the first resolution of the Business Committee, and, with the concurrence of Mr. Phillips on the part of that Committee, the following was agreed on as a substitute for the first resolution of the series already presented.

Resolved, That as the best of the existing political parties has proved itself essentially indifferent to the rights and welfare of the Colored race, the only consistent course for conscientious Abolitionists is either to abstain altogether from voting, or to scatter their votes on candidates of their own selection.

Mr. Foster then spoke very earnestly in favor of the formation of a third political party. He thought the American people *would* vote, and he thought it our duty to give them a right platform and a right candidate. Leave Grant to the Republicans and Chase to the Conservatives, and let us have old Ben. Butler. (Applause).

While we have no party that honest men can support, we are in the false position of giving our tacit consent to vicious measures and false principles. If we demand the ballot for the negro, we ought, also to demand it for the Indian; if we demand it for these, we ought to demand it for woman. This is not the negro's hour only, but humanity's hour. I want justice, which knows no race, no sex, no nationality. (Applause). If you demand land for the landless, let it be equally for black men and white men and woman. We want a government based on the principles of justice, and we shall accept no other. I don't want a Southern reconstruction which shall put 2,000,000 black women into the supreme power of 2,000,000 black men.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, agreeing in many respects with his friend who had just spoken, could not agree in the wisdom of establishing a new party and entangling ourselves with party tactics, candidates and machinery. With all the services that Ben. Butler has rendered to the cause of freedom in these latter years, he is not to be relied on as swayed by moral principle or trustworthy in the contingencies of party life. Since political action is so corrupting, our influence should rather go to keep men out of it. A party that we could raise would not attract voters who go for availability, as the men of both parties do. We shall do more by exposing and opposing the whole doctrine of availability, and stimulating each party to choose better men for their candidates.

The Republican party does not occupy the highest ground even of availability. They should demand the suffrage for all loyal men North and South, instead of South only.

Adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention being called to order by the PRESIDENT at the appointed hour, HENRY C. WRIGHT read the fifth resolution of the Business Committee, and presented, in contrast with it, the second resolution of the Chicago platform, lately accepted by the Republican party. He said that hatred of the negro in the free States is the real gist of the difficulty we encounter to-day. We must amend the national Constitution, so as to remove all disqualification for the suffrage on the ground of color or race, throughout all the States. He hoped all the friends here were prepared to take that ground. No political party, no church, is worthy to live, which supports such unjust distinctions.

Rev. Mr. TIFFANY spoke of the delusion of an insane man he had known; who expected to remove the trouble between North and South by whitewashing all the negroes. He thought a better way would be frankly to recognize the tenuity, the trivial character of the distinction between white and black men. We are to look, and teach others to look, at the human character which we all possess in common, and to concede to our negroes the full rights of men. We are to give them every fraternal recognition, and all needed help.

The war made the negro a soldier. We all involuntarily admire courage; he has shown it equally with ourselves. Then, whenever the negro has been called to deliberative or administrative positions, he has done good service in them, and shown there, too, his relationship to us. Why should we dwell upon the trifling differences which separate us, instead of looking first, and chiefly, at our great points of relationship. We should give them, 1st, Absolute and untrammelled political liberty. Give them a chance to come forward, to make themselves felt, to act as equal members of human society; 2nd, They should have full right to the ownership of land; and 3d, They should have all opportunities of education for themselves and their children.

Rev. Mr. SHARMAN, recently from England, then came to the platform. He said he felt sensible of appearing to some disadvantage before Abolitionists, as a citizen of England. He was conscious that every Irish vote for slavery in this country was the vote of English aristocracy. He had been warned against union with American parties, and had no wish to join any. He was glad to appear on this platform, understanding it not to be a party platform.

He would by no means relinquish political action, but would have independent individual action, rather than subjection to a party platform. Upon us, he thought, largely depended the enfranchisement of the laborers of Europe.

Mr. Pillsbury was called for by some in the audience, and also Mr. Remond; but neither of these responding to the invitation of the President, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH came forward. He spoke of the article of the Chicago Convention already alluded to by Mr. Wright. There were serious defects in it. It gave impartial suffrage only to Southern loyalists. The precise qualification for the franchise should be defined in the national Constitution. If Congress enacts a rule, a subsequent Congress may repeal it. It should not be left either to Congress or to State legislation, this great fundamental right of the citizen. We know what intimidation is still used towards the Southern blacks by the old master class. The strongest guarantees need to be given to all blacks, both North and South, for the safe exercise of this essential right of the citizen.

A real danger now awaits us; a union between the Southern oligarchy and the self-styled Northern Democracy. It may be that treason will gain the rewards of victorious loyalty, and that to victorious loyalty may be assigned the punishment of treason. We must not consent to a degradation so foul, to a crime so black.

WENDELL PHILLIPS was then announced. He wished to comment upon the first part of Mr. Burleigh's speech. He may have seemed to some to have overstated the danger. But his cautions have been shown to be well founded by the history of the last two years. Who would have supposed that a large Constitutional question would be set aside and neutralized by such personal ambition and party plots as we have lately witnessed among Senators? Who would have supposed that the Supreme Court and the Chief Justice of the United States would be such obstructions as they have shown themselves in the present year. There are many such obstructions in the Republican party. We have Representatives and a Senator in this State, who, with a certain degree of honesty, combine such servile conformity to the policy of the party, as to destroy all confidence in their faithfulness to freedom.

Carl Shurz proposed universal amnesty with universal suffrage in the Chicago Convention, with general applause. That is, he proposed to reverse the verdict of the war. Why should we let the gristle of revolt harden into the bone of nationality? Why should we return to the hands of defeated rebels the power which they are certain to misuse? If this policy prevails, Gettysburg and Atlanta must be fought over again on the floor of the Senate. The Supreme Court is rebel to-day, and can't be trusted. Why should we trust any rebels?

Mr. W. J. LINTON (late of England) was then invited to speak.

He thought that the re-election of Lincoln was the nation's voice against slavery; but still we admitted trivial and un-Republican quibbles to interfere with the process of justice in dealing with public offenders. He thought we were still in the swaddling clothes of Constitutional monarchy; and to this he thought it was due that the negro is not free to-day. A vital question for us was whether we should make our own laws, or only choose people to make them, taking the risk of their turning traitors. Mr. Linton testified to the entire faithfulness of English artisans to the American cause in the rebellion.

Mr. REMOND, being again called, came forward, and stated his agreement in the remarks of Mr. Burleigh and Mr. Phillips. He urged generous contributions in support of the Anti-Slavery STANDARD, the only genuine exponent of the colored men's cause in the country at this time. He feared that the States recently in rebellion would take the ground of impartial suffrage before Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania were ready for it. He had hoped that Gen. Grant might be voted for, at least for the purpose of keeping out the Democratic candidate. He wished that Agents might be sent out during the coming eight months to represent the ideas of Abolitionists in anticipation of the next election. We need Anti-Slavery labor in detail as much this day as we did ten years ago; and we need to rehearse the grievances of the colored man until his full rights shall be given by consent of the American people.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER was the next speaker. He said, there is much for us to do, but many of us do not know exactly *what* should to be done. Our resolutions declare that neither the platform nor the candidates of Chicago occupy the right position, and the audience has seemed to approve these resolutions. How can our friend Remond think that support of Gen. Grant can help the cause of the negro? If we do not find truth, integrity and honor in the Republican party, how can we give it *any* support? We must either support that party in full, or fall back upon our old non-voting platform. God forbid that we should soil our hands with a ballot hostile to the cause of freedom! Better stand aloof from the ballot-box altogether.

But there is something else to be done. In Worcester I lately carried a petition for female suffrage about among the people. One half the clergy signed it. Many of the lawyers signed it. One man whose recent examination had taught him the soundness of the democratic theory, was ready to give the suffrage to women and to negroes. We must eradicate prejudice from the hearts of the American people. Here is opportunity for the active labors of all faithful men and women. Let us all occupy ourselves in this way in the interval between this and our next meeting in July.

Here some debate occurred between Mr. Foster and Mr. Remond, after which Mr. Foster proposed immediate action on the amendment he had proposed to the first resolution. After some discussion, the mover of the amendment withdrew it, and the Chairman of the Business Committee withdrew the first resolution.

JAMES N. BUFFUM of Lynn remarked on the treachery of Mr. Fessenden of Maine, and spoke in favor of Mr. Colfax, the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency. He had had a share in the election of Gen. Butler, and thought he had therein done good Anti-Slavery work. (Applause).

Mr. ADDISON DAVIS thought that the first resolution should censure the traitors in the Republican party rather than the party itself. He also warmly defended the whole course of Schuyler Colfax, and received active applause from the audience therefore.

Mr. PHILLIPS replied by denying the statemanship of the Republican party.

Mr. DAVIS asked if it was possible to provide against traitors; and Mr. Phillips answered that if the Republican party did not know its own members; could not answer for the soundness of its own timber, it proved its own want of statesmanship.

Mr. HOPKINS rose to reply to Mr. Davis. He said the Republican party had proved itself unworthy; and he believed that Schuyler Colfax had purposely so arranged the Judiciary Committee that it could not accomplish impeachment. Fessenden and Trumbull, before their re-election were known to be timid and untrustworthy men, and yet the Republicans chose them.

(It was here voted that when the the Convention adjourn, it adjourn to half past seven).

Mr. Davis continued his defence of the Republican party, maintaining that to do what they did was plainly their *duty*.

HENRY C. WRIGHT made a few further remarks and the Convention *adjourned* to 7 1-2 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

(We make up such account as we can, from different sources, of the Evening Session of the Convention—mostly from the *N. Y., Herald*—and have added a few notes to the report of Mr. Phillips's speech from a friend's Manuscript before us. Ed).

The President took the chair at the hour appointed, and while the audience were assembling, Mrs. Rand read some verses entitled "Be True".

Mr. NATHANIEL ALLEN of Lowell wished to give his reasons why he should not vote for Gen. Grant. According to Mr. Allen's information, he believed the General to have been formerly a slave-holder, and that he is now in the habit of drinking sometimes to intoxication. He favored Mr. Foster's idea of an Anti-Slavery political party, adding that it should require temperance in its candidates.

Aaron M. Powell, editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, followed in a speech regretting that the President was not impeached and making an earnest appeal in behalf of the amelioration of the blacks in the South. Never, he said, was there an Anti-Slavery meeting of greater moment than this, for we are to pass through a campaign and political crisis in which it is most important that Abolitionists should take a governing part. The failure of impeachment was especially to be regretted on account of the freed-people of the South. Victims of the murderous hate of the former slave-owners, they would inevitably be exposed to continued danger, with Andrew Johnson retained in the White House. We need—in judging of the action of recreant and apostate Senators and of timid, half-hearted politicians—to view the situation from the stand point of observation furnished by the desolate hovels of the poor but faithful loyalists, white and black, who can remain at the South at all only as they brave the perils of starvation or death at the hands of the bloody Kuk-lux and other organizations for plunder and crime in the new "reign of terror. Notwithstanding the President still remained in office he was not sorry that an attempt had been made to impeach him, for he would stand in history as a traitor and betrayer, and those whose verdict was purchased in his behalf would pass into posterity in the same category. He himself and all good Abolitionists should demand that the Fortieth Congress should prepare new articles of impeachment and persist in the dethroning of the President. In mentioning the name of Charles Sumner in connection with another attempt at impeachment there was a burst of approving applause, as there was also when he assumed that the Chicago Convention made a blunder on the negro suffrage matter, and substantially surrendered the whole position so far as practical purposes were concerned. If Grant and Colfax accept the Chicago platform, he added, they may from the moment of entering office wholly ignore the question of negro suffrage. He had, he said, a talk with Senator Wilson the other day, in which he told him that he thought now was the hour to urge the matter of negro suffrage in Congress. Mr. Wilson replied that they were going to carry certain States, for that was their first duty, and afterwards they would take hold of the matter of negro suffrage, or in other words, they would take care of the party first and then the principles afterwards. Mr. Powell said that he thought it was better to work upon the Republican party to secure right and just action rather than to undertake the formation of a new party. If, he said, they would follow up the Republicans sharply they would be as successful hereafter as they have been in the past. He would have Congress pass a law enfranchising every man in season to vote at the next November election. If such a law be passed it will save several radical districts which, with only the white Republican votes, will be controlled by their opponents. He would say in conclusion to the Abolitionists not to float down stream in the Republican boat, but to stand alone and boldly, and cry aloud and work industriously for freedom and justice. Under other circumstances he could have gone heartily into the campaign for the Republicans and their platform; but in view of their egregious blunder on suffrage, so criminal in its character, he could not do it.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, being called for, came forward to address the audience. He wished to know whether Gen. Grant can be trusted to do justice to the colored man. He thought him preferable to Chase in this relation, but was not sure of him.

He believed it the duty of every colored man to push on the Republican ball as far as possible during the present canvass.

He found great ignorance prevailing in New York State in regard to Anti-Slavery ideas and principles; and the reason is that they have had no Abolitionist lecturers or newspapers.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER presented a resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That while we cheerfully recognize the progress, which may have been made by our popular churches and clergy on the subject of personal liberty and the manhood of the negro race, we still regard them as a body as the apologists or defenders of that spirit of caste and consequent oppression which has already baptized our country in blood of a most disastrous civil war and which still threatens the permanence of the Union and the ultimate success of our great experiment of Republican liberty.

Wendell Phillips then offered the following resolve:

Resolved, That as the best of existing political parties has proved itself essentially indifferent to the rights and welfare of the colored race, the only consistent course for conscientious Abolitionists is either to abstain altogether from voting or to scatter their votes on candidates of their own selection.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. Phillips, in urging his resolve, concurred, in the main, with what Mr. Remond had said. No one can doubt that the colored race stand, to-day, in a lamentable situation. They have gained considerably—from our fears. They were freed by "military necessity," and they are constantly gaining a larger share of the rights of a class. But much more is due them. The virus of slavery has so penetrated the moral constitution of the American people for several generations past, that they can't distinguish right from wrong.

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What we ask for the negro is justice; not charity, not patronage, but justice.

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Our duty is to stand in the way and preach sermons on all the texts of difficulty that God gives us.

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The Republican party, with a thousand presses, and the wealth of the country and half its offices, and most of its influence in their hands, ought to have succeeded in impeaching the President, and they would have done it had they wished it; the trouble was the majority did not *wish* it.

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They are now admitting States unripe for admission, for the sake of securing a Republican triumph. They have no right to peril a great cause for such a purpose.

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Grant is vastly better as a candidate than Chase. He has not traveled far, but his face is Zionward.

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The Anti-Slavery cause is but half finished. The history of the last seventy years has turned upon the negro. We must put the negro politically on his feet, and decide that there shall be no color.

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Conservativism has gone up to Chicago and won a victory.

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Independent and Tribune wheel into line.

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When they pulled down their flag, it was a warning to us to nail ours to the mast.

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Their desire for us is that we may not discontinue our rebuke and our criticism. We are to ask them to come up higher, but not to retreat to their position.

* * * * * *

Grant's occasional drunkenness was criticised; and further on in his remarks, Mr. Phillips charged that the Republican party, as a party, was responsible for the acquittal of the President. It did not, he added, want him convicted, for there was a fear it might injure the party. But for this Butler would have been encouraged; Ross and other traitors expelled, the Chief Justice unseated and the treacherous President turned out of the White House. All these events, however, such as the defeat of impeachment, the treachery of the Republican party, and even the rebellion itself, will revert to the benefit and encouragement of Abolitionists and universal suffrage. He dwelt at some length upon the prejudice existing against the black race, remarking that it will take at least another generation to eradicate it to such an extent that a black man and white woman can walk the streets without being subject to the gaze of impertinent passers by. He himself had learned a good deal the last few years. Once Daniel Webster stood between him and the Ten Commandments, but he had outgrown that and had not had any individual on the brain since to any great extent, and he did not during the next six months expect to have Colfax on the brain, and he was sure that he should not have Grant on the brain. He thought, too, that it was ridiculous and silly for Stanton to remain locked up in the War Office, but he was now satisfied that Stanton acted wisely and that he knew the American Senate better than he did. And, he added, so it is that we are constantly learning and advancing, and in another generation the prejudice against the black man will be removed, and there will be universal liberty and suffrage. He did not himself expect, however, to live to see the day, but it is surely coming.

Adjourned *sine die*.

JOHN T. SARGENT, PRESIDENT.
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, SECRETARY.

COLLECTIONS AT THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

Mrs. A. Fairbanks,	$5.00
Bourne Spooner,	5.00
Mrs. Sarah Russell,	5.00
Cash,	50
A. B. Morey,	5.00
R. R. Crosby,	50
Susan H. Talbot,	1.00
Cash,	50
Mrs. Ruth Buffum,	1.00
Cash,	85
Mrs. David Howland,	1.00
Mrs. Z. H. Spooner,	1.00
Mrs. Hannah S. Adams,	1.00
Mrs. Frances Hinckley,	50
Friends,	78
Mrs. Sarah Hallack,	50
E. B. Perkins,	1.00
Sarah Ford,	50
Mrs. Jenkins,	1.00
Mrs. Isaac Pitman,	5.00
Miss Harriet Hallet,	5.00
Susan Sisson,	1.00
Mrs. H. L. T. Wolcott,	1.00
Anna A. Burns,	1.00
Mrs. M. Latham,	2.00
Seth Hunt,	1.00
P. Fiske,	2.00
Various persons,	4.00
Slocum Howland,	5.00
C. F. Putnam,	1.00
A friend,	50
E. M. Davis,	5.00
R. P. Hallowell,	1.00
A friend,	1.00
" "	60
D. B. Morey,	1.00
Cash,	50
Stephen Albee,	1.00
A friend,	1.00
H. W. Carter,	20
A friend,	1.00
" "	1.00
" "	2.00
" "	1.00
John Mitchell,	1.00
Elizabeth B. Chace,	1.00
Miss Mary Osborne,	1.00
Mrs. C. M. Severance,	5.00
Miss Avis Sisson,	1.00
Pauline Gerry,	1.00
Sallie Holley,	1.00
Miss Kean,	1.00
R. S. Melvin	50
Abram Falsom,	1.00
P. Shaw,	2.00
Mrs. M. S. Bowker,	1.00
Charlotte J. Thomas,	2.00
Sarah H. Cowing,	2.00
Mrs. Theodore Parker,	5.00
Mrs. Charlotte Joy,	1.00
N. White,	2.00
Joseph Pierce, (to redeem pledge),	1.00
Various friends	13.50
N. Alling, of Lowell,	1.00
G. M. Rogers,	50
Sarah J. Nowell,	1.00
Mrs. Wallingford,	1.00
Mary C. Sawyer,	2.00
Sarah Clay,	1.00
Sarah E. Wall,	2.00
G. H. Vibert,	50
Lewis McLaughlen,	1.00
Asa Fairbanks,	2.00
E. H. Merrill,	2.00
New Jersey,	25
Friends,	3.27
R. T. G. and H. E. D.,	50
Carrie Southwick,	10
Friends,	3.00
Joel Smith,	1.00
Mrs. Shaw,	50
Mrs. Bacon,	25
Friends,	1.00
Mary Willey,	1.00
Cash,	75
H. Dutton,	1.00
C. R. True,	1.00
Mr. Sampson,	25
Rev. Olympia Brown,	1.00
Miss Richards,	1.00
Susan H. Cowing,	5.00
Miss Maria Clapp,	1.00
J. Harris,	50
Miss Clapp,	50
Francis Hinckly,	1.00
Mrs. Russell Marston,	1.00
Mrs. E. F. Eddy,	1.00
Mrs. H. S. Shepard,	1.00
E. Jones,	1.00
Various Friends,	13.50
Cash Collections,	174.30

PLEDGES.

Bourne Spooner,	50.00
Samuel L. Young,	2.00
D. and C. A. Joy,	25.00
Total Cash Collections and pledges,	251.30

Private advices from the South state that since the failure of impeachment the colored people are having a terrible time. The change for the worse has been rapid, and nothing but the election of Grant and Colfax can save the South from a reaction which will plunge the colored race back into slavery or something very near it—a saving remedy perhaps worse than the disease!

THE Impeachment Managers persevere in their investigations, and are said to be in possession of much important evidence.

OPINION OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

(OF MASSACHUSETTS),

IN THE CASE OF THE IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

(From proof sheets of the Opinion of Hon. Charles Sumner upon Impeachment, we make the following excerpts, regretting that space will not allow us to print the very able paper entire. Ed).

* * * * * * *

BATTLE WITH SLAVERY.

This is one of the last great battles with slavery. Driven from these legislative Chambers; driven from the field of war, this monstrous power has found a refuge in the Executive Mansion, where, in utter disregard of the Constitution and laws, it seeks to exercise its ancient, far-reaching sway. All this is very plain. Nobody can question it. Andrew Johnson is the impersonation of the tyrannical Slave Power. In him it lives again. He is the lineal successor of John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis. And he gathers about him the same supporters. Original partisans of slavery North and South; habitual compromisers of great principles; maligners of the Declaration of Independence; politicians without heart; lawyers, for whom a technicality is everything, and a promiscuous company who at every stage of the battle have set their faces against Equal Rights—these are his allies. It is the old troop of slavery, with a few recruits, ready as of old for violence—cunning in device and heartless in quibble. With the President at their head, they are now entrenched in the Executive Mansion.

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CRIME OF JOHNSON.

Slavery in all its pretensions is a defiance of law; for it can have no law in its support. Who so becomes its representatives must act accordingly; and this is the transcendent crime of Andrew Johnson. For the sake of Slavery and to uphold its original supporters in their endeavors to continue this wrong under another name, he has set at defiance the Constitution and laws of the land, and he has accompanied this unquestionable usurpation by brutalities and indecencies in office without precedent, unless we go back to the Roman emperor fiddling, or the French monarch dancing among his minions. This usurpation with its brutalities and indecencies became manifest as long ago as the winter of 1866, when, being President, and bound by his oath of office to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution and to take care that the laws are faithfully executed, he took to himself legislative powers in the reconstruction of the rebel States, and, in carrying forward this usurpation, nullified an act of Congress, intended as the cornerstone of reconstruction, by virtue of which rebels are excluded from office under the Government of the United States, and thereafter, in vindication of this misconduct, uttered a scandalous speech in which he openly charged members of Congress with being assassins, and mentioned some by name. Plainly he should have been impeached and expelled at that early day. The case against him was complete. That great patriot of English history, Lord Somers, has likened impeachment to Goliah's sword hanging in the temple to be taken down only when occasion required; but if ever there was an occasion for its promptest vengeance it was then. Had there been no failure at that time we should be now nearer by two years to restoration of all kinds, whether political or financial. So strong is my conviction of the fatal remissness of the House, that I think the Senate would do a duty in strict harmony with its Constitutional place in the Government, and the analogies of judicial tribunals so often adduced, if it reprimanded the House of Representatives for this delay. Of course the Senate could not originate an impeachment. It could not take down the sword of Goliah. It must wait on the House, as the court waits on the Grand Jury. But this waiting has cost the country more than can be told.

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GUILTY ON ALL THE ARTICLES.

After this survey it is easy for me to declare how I shall vote. My duty will be to vote guilty on all the articles. If consistent with the rules of the Senate I should vote, "Guilty of all and infinitely more."

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CONCLUSION.

In the judgment which I now deliver I cannot hesitate. To my vision the path is clear as day. Never in history was there a great case more free from all just doubt. If Andrew Johnson is not guilty, then never was a political offender guilty before; and, if his acquittal is taken as a precedent, never can a political offender be found guilty again. The proofs are mountainous. Therefore, you are now determining whether impeachment shall continue a beneficent remedy in the Constitution, or be blotted out forever, and the country handed over to the terrible process of revolution as its sole protection. If this milder process cannot be made effective now, when will it ever be? Under what influences? On what proofs? You wait for something. What? Is it usurpation? You have it before you, open, plain, insolent. Is it the abuse of delegated power? That, too, you have in this offender, hardly less broad than the powers he has exercised. Is it the violation of law? For more than two years he has set your laws at defiance, and when Congress, by a special enactment, strove to constrain him, he broke forth in rebellion against this Constitutional authority. Perhaps you ask still for something more. Is it a long catalogue of crime, where violence and corruption alternate, while loyal men are sacrificed and the rebellion is lifted to its feet? That also is here.

The apologists are prone to remind the Senate that they are acting under the obligation of an oath. So are the rest of us, even if we do not ostentatiously declare it. By this oath, which is the same for all, we are sworn to do "impartial justice." It is justice, and this justice must be impartial. There must be no false rights, and no exclusion of proper rights. Therefore, I cannot allow the quibbles of lawyers on mere questions of form to sway this judgment against justice. Nor can I consent to shut out from view that long list of transgressions explaining and coloring the final act of defiance. To do so is not to render impartial justice, but to depart from this golden rule. The oath we have taken is poorly kept if we forget the Public Safety in devices for the criminal. Above all else, now and forever, is that justice, which "holds the scales of right with even hand." In this sacred name, and in the name also of country, that great charity embracing so many other charities, I now make the final protest against all questions of form at the expense of the Republic.

Something also has been said of the people, now watching our proceedings with patriot solicitude, and it has been proclaimed that they are wrong to intrude their judgment. I do not think so. This is a political proceeding, which the people at this moment are as competent to decide as the Senate. They are the multitudinous jury, coming from no small vicinage, but from the whole country; for, on this impeachment, involving the Public Safety, the vicinage is the whole country. It is they who have sent us here, as their representatives, and in their name to consult for the common weal. In nothing can we escape their judgment, least of all on a question like that now before us. It is a mistake to suppose that the Senate only has heard the evidence. *The people have heard it also, day by day, as it was delivered, and have carefully considered the case on its merits*, properly dismissing all apologetic subtleties. It will be for them to review what has been done. They are above the Senate, and will "rejudge its justice." Thus it has been in other cases. The popular superstition which long surrounded the Supreme Court could not save this tribunal from condemnation, amounting sometimes to execration, when, by an odious judgment, it undertook to uphold Slavery; and until this day Congress has justly refused to place the bust of the Chief Justice, who pronounced this judgment, in the hall of that tribunal where he presided so long. His predecessors are all there in marble; no marble of Taney is there. The present trial, like that in the Supreme Court, is a battle with Slavery. *Acquittal is another Dred Scott decision*, and another chapter in the Barbarism of Slavery. How can Senators, who are discharging a political function only, expect that the voice of the people will be more tender for them than it was for a Chief Justice, pronouncing judgment from the bench of the Supreme Court in the exercise of judicial power? His fate we know. Nor learning, nor private virtues, nor venerable years, could save him from justice. In the great pillory of history he stands, and there he must stand forever.

The people cannot witness with indifference the abandonment of the great Secretary, who organized their armies against the rebellion and then organized victory. Following him gratefully through the trials of the war, they found new occasion for gratitude when he stood out alone against that wickedness which was lifted to power on the pistol of an assassin. During these latter days, when tyrannical prerogative invaded all, he has kept the bridge. When at a similar crisis of English history, Hampden stood out against the power of the Crown, it is recorded by the contemporary historian, Clarendon, that "he became the argument of all tongues; every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst at his own charge support the liberty and property of the kingdom and rescue his country from being made a prey to the Court." Such things are also said with equal force of our Secretary. Nor is it forgotten that the Senate, by two solemn votes of more than two-thirds, has twice instructed him to stay at the War Department, the President to the contrary notwithstanding. The people will not easily understand, on what principle of Constitution, law, or morals, the Senate can twice instruct the Secretary to stay, and then, by another vote, deliberately surrender him a prey to Presidential tyranny. Talk of a somersault; talk of self-stultification; are not both here? God save me from participation in this disastrous wrong, and may He temper it kindly to our afflicted country.

For myself, I cannot despair of the Republic. It is a life-boat, which wind and wave cannot sink; but it may suffer much and be beaten by storms. All this I clearly see before us, if you fail to displace an unfit commander, whose power is a peril and a shame.

Alas! for all the evil that must break upon the country, especially in the suffering South, as it goes forth that this bad man is confirmed in the prerogatives he has usurped.

Alas! for that peace and reconciliation, the longing of good men, now postponed.

Alas! for that security, so important to all, as the only foundation on which to build, politically or financially. This, too, is postponed. How can people found a government or plant or buy unless they are first secure?

Alas! for the Republic degraded as never before, while the Whisky Ring holds its orgy of corruption and the Ku-Klux-Klan holds its orgy of blood!

Alas! for the hearts of the people bruised to unutterable sadness, as they witness the cruel tyranny installed anew!

Alas! for that race so long oppressed, but at last redeemed from bondage, now plunged back into another hell of torment.

Alas! for the Unionists, white and black alike, who have trusted to our flag. You now surrender them to those persecutors, whose representative is before you for judgment. They are the last in my thoughts, as I pronounce that vote which is too feeble to save them from intolerable wrong and outrage. They are fellow-citizens of a common country, brethren of a common Humanity. I offer them at this terrible moment the sympathy and fellowship of a heart that suffers with them. So just a cause cannot be lost. Meanwhile may they find in themselves, and in the goodness of an overruling Providence, that rescue and protection which the Senate refuses to give.

THE END OF IMPEACHMENT.

WELL, the play is concluded—the performance is over. The business of impeachment, so long talked of, so steadily urged by Thaddeus Stevens and his associates, and so long obstinately resisted by the leading Republican managers, then taken up by them with such zest, and promising to be now sure of accomplishment, has reached its termination. It was time. It had grown empty and farcical enough, and could not come to an end one moment too soon. It is a significant confession of much on the part of the Republican party and the country.

Just what special influences operated to move and to sway the recusant Republican Senators, it is impossible for one not in the secrets, fully to say. Money was unquestionably used in very large amounts, and political ambitions and intrigues also had place. It is another of those eruptions and purulent discharges which now and then breaking out on the surface reveal to the astonished people the depth of the corruption that lives within.

To no name, certainly in the Republican party, is so much award due for the failure to impeach, as to Salmon P. Chase. Judge Chase has been understood to be the determined foe and ill-wisher of this proceeding from the beginning, and before the beginning. The occasion of this it was not easy to see; recent developments are shedding some light on it. All the power of his personal influence has been brought to bear to prevent any action by the House; after this was taken to prevent conviction. From his position as superior Judge of the Supreme Court and presiding officer of the Senate, his influence has been by no means small. Individual Senators he has approached directly, and approached indirectly through the blandishments of female persuasion to carry them over to Johnson. He has in a measure manifested himself; shown himself to be what some friends of freedom have long more than suspected him to be at bottom, an untrustworthy, unprincipled man.

At an early period in the Anti-Slavery warfare, Mr. Chase, then a young and already eminent attorney in Cincinnati, evinced decided and outspoken sympathy with the Abolitionists. He was reckoned in heart with them if not fully of them; active and sincere if less intensely earnest and demonstrative than such names, say in the West, as Samuel Lewis and Thomas Morris. The writer well remembers to have seen him at an Anti-Slavery Convention in a little town near Cincinnati, in 1841, which he addressed quite effectively upon some aspects of the slavery question. It cost something then to be an Abolitionist, especially in Cincinnati and on the borders of slave-holding Kentucky.

In the Free Soil times, about the winter of 1848-9, if we remember aright, Mr. Chase was elected to the United States Senate by a vote of the Legislature of Ohio, secured through a coalition, a bargain and sale effected by two or three Free Soil members from the Western Reserve, with the Democrats. Was it here that he began the *descensus Averni*, tasted the intoxication of the political cup, learned to subordinate, to stifle the higher instincts of his nature, the noble impulses to humanity, before the paltry considerations of political success? He went into Congress by a bargain with iniquity.

We heard him again we remember, about this time, one evening in a little town on the Western Reserve, where he was thrown for the night by some stress of the weather. His plea now was for the non-extension of slavery, for hedging it in where it is, holding the territories for freedom, but according to it full protection in its own sovereign domain. Afterwards, as we know, he was Governor of Ohio, and in that position he surrendered Margaret Garner and her child to the maw of Slavery. When the war was imminent, he counseled amity and concord, declaring in a public speech that the differences between the States might and ought "to be composed." Slavery with him was no bar to harmonious relations.

This is the quondam abolitionist, the man of clear vision, transcendant abilities, and tender, generous, human impulses, who—at one time and another unfaithful to liberty, forgetful of justice in his worship of Constitution and Union—now at length manifests himself the shameless trickster and demagogue, selling every vestige of self-respect and manhood for the mess of pottage he hopes, vainly, to get in the White House. Verily he shall have his reward, shall go to his own place. Upon the same road upon which Seward has descended, he travels, and is likely soon, if he has not already, to reach his depth of self-degradation and infamy.

The Republican party has made confession of its imbecility and shame in the refusal of its Senate to convict. We do not forget the thirty-five who stood firm and at the end voted, Aye. We accord them all merited honor. Some of them were manly, moved throughout undoubtedly by high and commanding considerations; others, God only knows how many, rose only to the height of what they saw the manifest requirement of political and party exigency. But it has always been the misfortune and the guilt of the Republican party, to have in its bosom and its confidence men thoroughly profligate and unprincipled, at least altogether corruptible, ready to sell anything for advantage—enough of these ever to vitiate or defeat any genuine purpose of good. They have been in its counsels, and have done much to control its steps and its policy. They will work its ruin. It says: "Let be! we do not wish to extinguish the insecurity, the lawlessness, rapine and violence in the South. It says to the Ku Klux, Go on, hunt down and murder the black and white Unionists in your midst; we continue your great leader and head in the executive chair of the nation. He will give you all the sympathy, aid and encouragement you need in your adventurous enterprises. Fear not; can we not sacrifice all these loyalists to conciliate our disaffected brethren, and reconstruct our Union? We want reconstruction, concord and success, and we will give all the amnesty we can."

It has confessed judgment against itself. It must to the shades; must vacate the place it refuses to fill. National Conventions cannot save it. Worship of prestige, shouting Grant, Grant! till the heavens are rent with the cry, cannot save it. Chicago has spoken, but as before, is timid. Timid and selfish on suffrage; bold to declare for it in the unreconstructed South where the vote of the black man is essential to the success of the party, but not daring to rebuke the inhumanity which in the North, though Republican, denies him the ballot, acquiesing in and sanctioning this transcendant, gratuitous meanness. It is also timid on impeachment, not equal to branding with the seal of its reprobation those Senators who, belying their professions and pledges, defeated it. Only by impeaching itself, purging itself to the core of all that worship of availability and success, ignoring of the supreme claim, which has marked and still marks its history, can give the Republican party ability either to rid itself of such unseemly incumbrances as drunken Andy, or preserve its own being from extinction.

The end is not yet. The Lord reigneth; after death the judgment. Not only has Andy Johnson but the tribunal also been on trial, and both with like result. Culprit and court both stand impeached of grave crimes and misdemeanors in the Court of Heaven, and also in the deliberate judgment of mankind. Let us be thankful that Pitt Fessenden and Lyman Trumbull cannot pronounce the verdicts of the Supreme Justice, nor Chief Justice Chase control that Court of Impeachment. The money of the Whiskey Ring will not assure acquittal there.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS.

SYRACUSE, May 22, 1868.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1868.

PEACE.

THE timid managers of the Republican party appear to have determined upon securing "peace." Having chosen a military candidate they now join in the chorus, "Let us have peace." One chief source of conflict remains. It happens to be the old one, not yet disposed of. It is the same "irrepressible conflict," involving in a new phase, the negro's rights.

President Johnson started out boldly with his "policy" of reconstruction to build up and perpetuate in the South "a white man's government." To this end he has persistently labored. He is supported in his efforts by all the adherents of the "lost cause" South, and by a powerful majority of the so-called Democratic party at the North. Just now, as a year or more ago, there is a movement in progress for a change of party base, and the selection of Mr. Chase as a standard bearer for the Democracy. We do not think it is likely to succeed. The anti-war candidate, none know better than the Democratic party managers themselves, is the strong one with the rank and file of their party. Gov. Seymour's chances for united and hearty support are as five to one compared with Mr. Chase.

Congress sought, and still undoubtedly desires equal enfranchisement for the colored race. But it lacked courage at the outset, in dealing with the problem of reconstruction, and it is at a disadvantage to-day from the same cause. The practical surrender of the question of negro suffrage, as a National issue, involved in the second resolution of the Chicago Convention is embodied also in the Congressional plan of reconstruction, which guarantees the ballot to the blacks, only so long as the initial experiment continues. The States once readmitted to the Union and the military withdrawn, nothing but revolution will suffice for the blacks to possess the ballot. At present, with the Federal authority asserted, as it cannot, and will not be after the rebellious States shall have been readmitted, they vote in many places only at the greatest peril, and in some instances have been kept from the polls by a new "reign of terror" quite as formidable as that which prevailed during the full tide of slavery. It was inexcusable and cowardly on the part of Congress to so adjust the question of suffrage in its plan of reconstruction as that upon the restoration of the rebellious States to the Union there could be no national guarantee of equal political rights to those, who, though a proscribed class, in a period of great necessity, helped to assert and maintain the authority of the Federal government against a slave-holder's rebellion. It was gratuitous, insulting cowardice, ingratitude, and injustice on the part of the Chicago Convention to reaffirm the criminal blunder of the Congressional plan of reconstruction, which exposes the freedmen to summary disfranchisement as the sequel of the readmission of the reconstructed States to the Union; and to omit to demand an additional Amendment of the Federal Constitution which shall guarantee political equality, without distinction of color, throughout all the States, North and South.

Now the purpose on the part of the party managers and journals is to gain the earliest possible readmission to Congress of Senators and Representatives from the South, thus to ensure the election of Gen. Grant. The *Tribune*, we regret to see, is in great haste, from supposed party necessity, to abolish the Freedman's Bureau, and to withdraw all direct military control from the South. It might be well if all who thus advocate the abandonment of the black and white loyalists of the South to an unrestrained conflict with the old ruling white class, with Andrew Johnson still in the White House, could be compelled also to live for a season in the South, and share the blessings of that "peace" which the success of their premature measure will bring. The "omnibus" bill, for the readmission of several States has passed the House, and the indications are as we write, that it will soon pass the Senate. If Mr. Johnson will in this case add one more veto to his long list, and take with him his seven mortgaged Senators, he will unwittingly serve the country a good turn, by saving it from risks which for party ends Congress has no right to subject it to.

There can be no true peace in the absence of its essential conditions. The spirit of caste and race-hatred must be controlled by proper legislation, and exorcised by an enlightened, conscientious public opinion, or it will again dominate as in the days of chattel slavery. With Johnson impeached and removed from office, (a duty still incumbent upon Congress), and an amendment of the Federal Constitution providing a fundamental guarantee of equal political rights to the colored race, the nation will be in the way of peace. Not till then.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The investigation on the part of the Impeachment Managers is still vigorously prosecuted. It is anticipated that their report will fully justify the conclusion which prevails with the general public that the recent verdict of acquittal was purchased by deliberate bribery and corruption. We trust that the present investigation will be immediately followed by another arraignment of Mr. Johnson upon new articles of impeachment, and that he may be promptly removed from office. The recent failure does not absolve Congress from this duty, but rather renders it more imperative.

The movement to make Chief Justice Chase the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency, in the Convention soon to be held in this city, seems to have grown to quite formidable proportions. We do not doubt that many of the more intelligent of the party managers would rejoice to have it succeed, but their misfortune is in having such a negro-hating constituency in the rank and file of their party, as to render Mr. Chase's nomination upon a platform of negro equality impolitic, and, if he would accept their nomination on any other, to render his defeat quite certain.

We invite the attention of the friends of THE STANDARD to a letter which we publish elsewhere, from Mr. EDWARD M. DAVIS of Philadelphia. We hope it will be an incentive to others to do likewise.

Last year Mr. Davis generously donated a One Hundred Dollar Government bond as a premium for subscribers for THE STANDARD, for which Miss SALLIE HOLLEY was the successful competitor.

With a President and Congress united in the work of reconstruction it would in the nature of things, have required a considerable lapse of time for such a growth of loyal sentiment as would render stable government in the rebellious States possible. The present haste on the part of partizan politicians to bring those States back again to full representation in Congress, and to withdraw direct Federal control and protection, for party ends, is fraught with immense risk, and invites a renewed outbreak of bloody warfare for political supremacy.

We commend the following from the Richmond, (Va.) *New Nation*, to the thoughtful consideration of such members of Congress and others as are disposed to at once withdraw the military from the South, and to cry "peace, peace where there is no peace."

"We should rejoice to see a state of things in Virginia which would justify the removal of the military authorities from our State. But that time has not come yet, and we doubt very much whether it will come for the next twelve months. It is by the presence of the military authorities that we are permitted to live in the city of Richmond and publish a Republican newspaper. It is the presence of the military that guarantees to every Republican the right to live in the State. Remove the military, and then what? Mobocracy and anarchy would everywhere prevail, especially in all Eastern Virginia. Riots would be the order of the day, and no Republican would be safe anywhere. Remove the military, and thousands of Republicans, white and colored, would be forced to leave the State, even if they were allowed to leave at all. We feel sorry for the stupidity of any Republican, whether he be a white or colored man, who would use his influence for the removal of the military authorities under existing circumstances.

LETTER FROM EDWARD M. DAVIS.

PHILADELPHIA, June 6th, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I ENCLOSE you my check for Seventy-five dollars ($75.) for twenty-five copies of the paper for one year.

My intention is to hand them to my neighbors as a means of teaching them true ideas of Justice and Liberty. Economy and a wise or selfish foresight justify me in this, for if my children and grandchildren are to live where I do, I am doing well for them in seeing that their neighbors are for justice and right.

I wish you to publish this letter in the hope that it may stimulate others to do now with a free hand the work there is laid on this generation. Very truly,

E. M. DAVIS.

PERSONAL.

Henry William Longfellow designs spending a portion of the summer in the English Lake country.

Thorwaldsen's patroness, the Baroness de Stampe has just died at Nyse in Denmark.

J. Ross Browne, our new minister to China sailed for California on the 9th inst., en route for the scene of his duties.

Sallie Holley lectured on Sunday afternoon, the 7th inst., in Hudson, Mass. She had a good audience, and at the close of her meeting received five new subscribers for THE STANDARD.

Charles Dickens has sent seventeen hundred dollars to a Boston gentleman for the production of two hundred and fifty copies of the *Old Curiosity Shop*, printed in raised letters for the use of the blind.

Pro-slavery notions are still prevalent in Virginia. A Richmond editor says that Mr. Colfax is not in the true acceptation of the term "a gentleman," because he began life as a printer! and yet what sort of a *gentleman* is he who *never made* AN IMPRESSION.

The Utica Herald says—"The Chief Justice cannot control a single State by his personal influence. His abandonment of the Union party carries no one with him. Not one Senator will follow the Chief Justice out of the Union party; not one Representative will follow him; not one Union journal will put up his standard."

F. L. Cardozo, the newly elected Secretary of the State in South Carolina, is a light mulatto, and the first of his race to hold a State office in this country. Mr. Cardozo is native and resident of Charleston, and a moderate Republican in his view. He owns a handsome house on Bull Street, which is the hospitable home of the missionaries sent from the North to teach the colored children. In person Mr. Cardozo is portly, and of medium height, walks with a quick, firm, elastic step, speaks with hesitation, has a good flow of strong Anglo-saxon with a full and flexible voice. He was educated at the University of Glasgow.

In an entertaining letter to Harper's *Bazar*, an English correspondent talks pleasantly of Mr. Moncure D. Conway, who, he says, has a charming residence in West Brompton, a suburb of London, very near to his friend Froude the historian, and not distant from the house of Thomas Carlyle, with whom he is also intimate. At a few steps from his door he is able to take a swift river-boat, which carries him to Parliament or to London Bridge, in the very heart of the city. Probably no other American since Washington Irving has had greater social success in England through purely intellectual exertions, and this success he has faithfully used to generate correct opinion concerning America. He is a very industrious literary man, contributing constantly to magazines and preaching twice each Sunday.

A friend at Washington writes us privately as follows:

"A Baltimore lady, of undisguised secession proclivities, but personally of the highest respectability and of unimpeached veracity, who has frequently attended the sessions of the impeachment court, relates that as she passed in through the door of the Senate gallery, a few days before the termination of the proceedings, Gen. Banks came along with a lady, and observing that there was no vacant seat near, requested the door-keeper to speak to a colored woman seated among the spectators, and tell her to vacate her seat for the accomodation of the lady whom he accompanied. The colored woman meekly did as she was bidden; and Gen. Banks, having seen his lady seated, offered a chair, which the door-keeper brought forward, to the Baltimore rebel lady—leaving the displaced colored woman to look out for herself; and she, not being able to find another seat, left the gallery!

"The secesh lady, when relating the circumstance to a female acquaintance, expressed her surprise at it, although she herself was personally commoded thereby, and remarked that it seemed hardly consistent with Republican professions of civil equality!"

The *Rochester (N. Y.) Express* says: "Mr. Dayton Morgan, a young and promising artist of Cincinnati, has been sent by some of the friends of Frederick Douglass in that city with a commission to execute a bust of our distinguished townsman. He arrived here about three weeks since, and has prepared the model in clay of Mr. Douglass of life size. We have had the pleasure of seeing the work, and it is remarkably correct and life-like. The likeness is perfect in feature, and the expression of countenance, as familiar to the friends of Mr. Douglass in his public efforts, is happily fixed and preserved. This is the first bust of Mr. Douglass that has ever been made in this country, and Mr. Morgan is fortunate in being called upon to perpetuate the features of a man whose remarkable powers and strange history will make his name forever historic, and Mr. Douglass is fortunate in having a genuine artist to do the work. Mr. Morgan has executed busts of Gov. Fairchild and Abraham Lincoln, which are very highly spoken of by those who have seen them.

About twenty-five years ago Mr. Bennes, an English artist, made a bust of Mr. Douglass while he was on a visit to England. A photograph of that bust shows the changes which twenty-five years have made in features and expression not less than in character. The lines about the mouth and forehead show the struggles with which he has grappled and the difficulties over which he has triumphed. These are admirably preserved in the model bust, and it is this which will give the historic likeness of Frederick Douglass.

A prominent member of the House, speaking of the defection of Chief Justice Chase, in a private letter to a friend, says:

"I do not know whether I ever mentioned to you the many causes I had for doubting Chase's integrity and devotion to principle, but I remember distinctly stating some of them in a hurried short interview to P——. Let who may be disappointed by his recent conduct, I am not. He is as white-blooded as James Buchanan. They are men of the same temperament. That most incurable of all forms of insanity, "White House on the brain," has afflicted him as badly as it did Lewis Cass. From 1848 when I first made his acquaintance, down to this time and his avowal to Mr. Bundy, than whom no more truthful man does not live, that he would accept the Democratic nomination, and failing in that enter the field as an independent candidate, is but more frank and not less infamous than many of his statements touching Mr. Lincoln while a member of his Cabinet, or the report of Grant's drunkenness on the streets of Washington a few weeks ago of which I believe him to have been personally the author, and know him to have whispered to gentlemen from the South who were in the city for a brief time, and would have no opportunity to investigate the truth of his statements had they doubted it. He was true to his own nature when he disposed of the Margaret Garner case, and Anti-Slavery people should not have trusted him thereafter. These are ancient convictions of mine; and not the ebullitions of sudden passion."

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C. June 2d 1868.

My letter will be brief to-night, for the mail will soon close and there is but little to write about. The two topics of interest here are the investigation into the corruption used to defeat impeachment, and the movement to make Chase the Democratic candidate.

Of the first, the Committee keep their own counsel so close, that but little leaks out. To-day they are examining witnesses. They have succeeded, as I learn, in bringing admissions from several of the New York Thurlow Weed and Custom House gang. They contradict themselves continually because not knowing how much the Committee know, they are constantly surprised by searching questions which confuse them. Woolley is still a prisoner, and will remain so, if continuing to be contumacious. The Democrats are endeavoring to make a martyr of him and only succeed in branding themselves as defenders of what it is evident, is the grossest corruption—whether it be interference with impeachment; Wall street operations on the strength of secret Treasury intelligence, or condoning frauds on the Revenue. That Butler will find out the truth in this villainy, most persons believe and all the true men hope.

The Chase conspiracy is the chief topic of discussion. This immaculate specimen of legal purity, makes no secret of his desire to secure the Democratic nomination, or that he strenuously opposed impeachment. Mr. Van Winkle states openly that he changed his vote on the Eleventh Article, upon the reasons which he declares were presented to him by Mr. Chase. Ross of Kansas, and Henderson of Missouri are frequent visitors at the Chief Justice's house. Both are asserting lustily that their judicial consciences were affected by the injury impeachment would be to General Grant. Sweet and savory Senators these. Calm and impartial judges are they.

Mr. Chase's programme seems to be built of a hope that his personal influence will take off a portion of the Republican party, especially the old Silas Wright-Free Soil Democratic wing, and thus hold the balance of power, when to that is added a growing element of the Democracy who are tired of being considered as belonging to a disloyal party.

He hopes to induce their National Convention in July to bury the distinctive negroism by a dodge. The scheme is to declare slavery dead; to demand universal amnesty; to reassert the States Rights dogma, and to recommand the States to grant impartial suffrage. Such a platform Chase will stand on. He hasn't a ghost of a chance to obtain his wishes, but then he thinks he has, which enables him to lay a "flattering unction to his soul", and makes him assoil it with further treachery. He will be strong enough, we all hope, to do what our friend Col. Hinton declares to be his especial task in National politics at this period, to become the "National scavenger" and compel the Democracy to in some way abandon their "white man's" government theory.

ASMODEUS.

(The above was received too late for last week's Standard, for which it was intended. Ed.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 8th, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Gen. Grant remarked a short time previous to the vote on the Eleventh Article that the acquittal of Andrew Johnson would result in bloodshed. That was the opinion of the earnest Radical men of all parts of the country. Still that declaration did not prevent a purchase from a "swindling Senate" of a verdict of acquittal for that "swindling President." The question is now frequently asked was Grant correct in his prediction?

To that, it has generally been answered no, by all the conservative Republicans in the land. The Radical earnest men of the Nation still believe Grant was correct in his prediction. They understand well the spirit of the rebel population of the recently rebellious States, and see too plainly the tendency of events to close for one moment their eyes to the dangers threatening the Nation. That danger is now beginning to manifest itself quite openly, and well will it be for the Nation if our Republican Congressmen have courage enough left to guard against it. That danger lies in the fact that the Republican candidate can only be elected with the aid of the newly reconstructed States.

The failure of impeachment has so demoralized the Republican party organization as to make it impossible to elect Gen. Grant without the electoral vote of some six or seven States recently in rebellion. Those States will be admitted and cast their electoral votes for the nominee of the Republican party. So far everything would seemingly go on smoothly and not lead to bloodshed. And so it would were not Andrew Johnson in the Presidential office until the 4th of March next. But Johnson being in the chair will be the occasion of the breaking out of civil commotion and war.

The rebel population of the South are determined never to recognize the State governments formed under the Congressional plan of Reconstruction. They may not, and probably will not openly resist them until a fitting opportunity occurs. That opportunity they believe offers itself during the coming year. They intend holding a Presidential election under the Johnson governments and they will cast their votes for Democratic electors. Those electors will meet and forward their votes to Congress. Congress in counting up the vote will count the votes under the Congressional government and reject the Johnson votes. That done Congress will announce Gen. Grant elected. But the Southern votes being necessary to elect Grant, President Johnson will refuse to surrender the office to him and will turn it over to the Democratic nominee.

Thus it is quite easy to see that a failure to impench is quite likely to lead to bloodshed. It may be stated the rebels will attempt no such a course. I have to say in reply they openly threaten to do so and the Democracy of the North declare themselves ready to sustain them in it. At a meeting held in Tennessee a few days since participated in by H. S. Foote, formerly Governor of Mississippi and United States Senator from that State, such a course was indicated. Such a proceeding has been recommended by secession leaders all over the South and there is little question of its being attempted.

Thus it is easy to see that the safety of the Republic requires the removal of Andrew Johnson before November next. It will not be safe to permit him to remain in office until March next. It is the duty of the House o Representatives early in August to impeach him and bring about his removal by the first of next October. That can easily be done, and if the Republican leaders believe what they have educated the people to believe, it will be done. Before August, sixteen new Radical Senators and thirty or thirty-five new Radical Representatives will be admitted to the floor of the House and Senate. That will ensure the success of the measure.

It is about time the Radical element of the Republican party resented the indignity heaped upon it by the failure of impeachment and the adoption by the Chicago Convention of a Conservative platform and placing the Republican candidate in a position where he pledges himself to "moderation" as flippantly as any Conservative could desire. Let the earnest Radical men all over the land labor for peace by securing the immediate removal of Andrew Johnson. That can be easily accomplished. All that is necessary is to satisfy the Republican party that the Radicals will not vote their ticket next fall unless they go to work and impeach and convict the President. Make his removal by October the condition of supporting the Republican ticket and that work will be accomplished by August next. The Republican members know Grant cannot be elected without the Radical vote, and that he can with it. Knowing this much they would not long hesitate to enter upon impeachment in earnest. Impeachment is not dead yet if the Radicals will only make their power felt.

Grant says, "Let us have peace," so say I. And in order to have peace, Johnson must be impeached and removed. Therefore, let us radicals demand of the Republican House of Representatives a new and improved edition of impeachment so we can "have peace."

CHARLES E. MOSS.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, June 7, 1868.

"After the shower, the emerald leaves," said a poet. And we have them. Our three or four weeks of alternate rain and mist have made the Common superb in verdant beauty. Never did the foliage and the grass make a finer appearance, and never was the avenue of elms more beautiful, which overarches the Beacon Street Mall, and shades those who walk or sit there to enjoy the balmy air of June. And what a study in human nature are those who walk and sit there. Respectable old gentleman and ladies taking their leisurely stroll; young men and maidens suggesting to each other, in low tones, things, *apropos* of spring-time; boys of all sorts, the boisterous and the quiet, the well and the ill-arrayed, the white, black and brown, pursuing the games of base ball, foot-ball and marbles, or passing merrily to and from them; babies, the offspring of the rich and powerful, drawn in luxurious carriages by tidy nurse-maids—and other little ones, unwashed themselves, and the progeny of the unwashed, who tumble about in the grass, and pick the buttercups, and enjoy the beauty and freedom of the place, without the slightest consciousness of their dirty faces and their ragged clothes. For them too is the grass green and the sky blue; the singing of the birds and the frolic races of the dogs are for them; the pond is for their shingle boats with paper sails, as much as for the nicely-rigged ships of wealthier children; for them the sun shines, the branches wave and the fountains play. Let luxury increase as it may, here is one permanent democratic influence; one reminder, in spite of the aristocratic distinctions perpetuated in houses and pews, that human beings should be and may be brethren and sisters.

Let us be just, however, even if the sky should fall and crush the most cherished of our theories. Speaking of aristocrats and fountains, I must tell you that one of the former has just given us one of the latter; and we are as agreeably tickled with the new fountain as we were by "the great organ" in its time. And it is indeed a beautiful object, and on a scale far exceeding anything that we had had before. The main jet of our Frog-pond fountain, ninety feet high, is a grand object, and there is much beauty in the other varied forms of aqueous aspersion there displayed; but all these proceed from a pipe raised barely above the ordinary level of the water. The fountain which Mr. Gardner Brewer has now given to the city is an elaborate work of art in bronze, pleasing the eye and gratifying a refined taste even when its forty or fifty streams are not falling, with refreshing tinkle, into its several basins, glistening in the sun, and seeming to cool the summer air.

This beautiful bronze structure is twenty-four feet high. Its waters gush from the top into a basin near it, thence into a larger one, and thence gain such a spread, though the curves of the three divisions are symmetrical, as to make the granite basin at the bottom, twenty-eight feet in diameter, seem rather too small than too large. At the base, looking down upon the granite basin, are seated bronze half-clad figures of Neptune and Amphitrite, Acis and Galatea, watching, with serious faces, the play of the element to which mythology has assigned them. Above, encircling the stem between the two bronze basins, are four well-grouped and pleasing figures of children. The workmanship of the whole is beautiful, satisfying to the eye, and suited to refine the taste. I hope and believe we shall have more good statues in our public places; and I trust also that by-and-by our halls of instruction, from the common-school upwards, will be adorned with pure and graceful models of the human form, ancient and modern; since I am convinced that

the familiar sight of these, from early childhood, answers an important end in education.

We pass from the Common to the Public Garden, upon which a good deal of labor has been expended this year, and which has become really beautiful, attracting numbers of residents and visitors. The City Forester is trying the experiment of frequent mowing upon the grassy portions of it, intending, I suppose, to get that smooth, soft and even green-sward for which the English lawns are famous. The walks are bordered with abundance of flowers, in good variety, and with a due regard for succession; and our boy and girl population have been successfully trained to the habit of admiring the sight of these without making depredation upon them. The waterfowl in the pond are constant objects of interest to the children, who are now admiring a brood of ducklings and feeding them with crumbs. As each bit falls into the water, swarms of minnows dart upwards to get their share of it; and, by an occasional alacrity of movement among the ducklings, I suspected that their web feet were mistaken for something nutritious, and experimentally nibbled at by the finny tribe. The swans, too, both the white and the black pair, have shown indications of intending to go to housekeeping, and for their convenience and seclusion a small house has been moored on a raft in the midst of the pond.

The public garden and its flowers remind me to speak of the first (this season) of the free weekly exhibitions of our Horticultural Society, which took place yesterday in their beautiful hall on Tremont street. The collection was abundant and very beautiful, arranged with great taste, containing magnificent specimens of successful cultivation, and chronicling the names of those who had produced the finest, and the prizes drawn for the same. Such wonderful rhododendrons! Such superb azaleas! Such infinite varieties in size and hue of geraniums, tulips, pansies, roses, petunias, deutzias, carnations, iris and columbine, not to speak of grand and beautiful exotics, upon the learned names of which I will not venture. Then the tastefully arranged bouquets, the hanging baskets, the single cut flowers! Then the luxurious fruit, Early Crawford peaches from the hot-house, of noble size, and ripe, rosy-golden hue; and strawberries, plump and juicy. Then the immense vegetables, giant asparagus, with head a full inch in diameter, stalks of rhubarb weighing three pounds each, tempting radishes, voluminous lettuce! As honest Tim Linkinwater said, such things can't be found in the country; you must go to the city for them.

Johnsonism has its organs and its advocates here as well as in your city, who have plucked up courage from the failure of impeachment, and whose occupation is to retail scandals, small and great, against all who have labored for a righteous reconstruction. One of this sort, having occasion to mention Fort Wagner and Col. Shaw, said of him contemptuously that "he was buried with niggers, and good enough for him". "Yes", said one of a different mind, who heard it—"but he will have an escort at the resurrection that either of us might be proud of".

I have spoken heretofore of good Anti-Slavery work done by Joshua B. Smith, our best "Caterer" in Boston. I chanced to hear to-day an anecdote of his professional skill that may interest you. When Mr. Smith had been engaged to provide the City banquet on occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit, Mr. Everett went to him and said he was particularly desirous that everything should be arranged as skilfully and elegantly as possible. I know, said he, "that the materials of the entertainment will be all that could be desired, but I want the manner, the arrangement, the decorations, most carefully attended to. Do, for this occasion, something better than you have ever done before".

Mr. Smith said he would give his mind to it. When all was ready, he invited Mr. Everett to inspect the arrangements. They twice walked around the Hall together, carefully scrutinizing everything, but without a word being said. At last, having viewed the whole, Mr. Everett said; "Mr. Smith, I have seen entertainments in every capital in Europe; but I have never seen one displaying more taste and good judgement than this". The Prince, when the time came, expressed to his friends his sense of the good arrangements of the occasion; and subsequently, after the city had paid Mr. Smith's bill, Mr. Everett handed him an envelope containing $1,000, in token of the satisfaction of the Managers in the success of the entertainment.

NORTH.

LETTER FROM HOWARD W. GILBERT. Esq.

OCTORARO, Chester Co., Pa., May 24th, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

WE Abolitionists, even if we accepted authority at all, would be slow to pin our faith to the sleeve of Mr. Carlyle; but it would certainly be very foolish in us to reject an important truth merely because he was the first to announce it.

In one of his late oracular utterances, he declared emphatically his conviction that the most fitting appellation of this period is, "The age of cheap and nasty." The late vote in the Senate at Washington, on the eleventh article in the bill of impeachment must be, to all dispassionate minds strongly confirmatory of Mr. Carlyle's views of the condition of things in the Nineteenth Century.

The discouragement which many Republicans exhibited on the reception of the news of that vote proved how little they are in the habit of looking at things as they are. My surprise arose only from the fact that there were not more votes for acquittal; but even this vanished entirely when I reflected that it was unnecessary, and therefore imprudent, for more than seven Republican Senators to abandon their principles. It was admirably arranged that not more than the number absolutely requisite should betray their constituents. If there are, as many people suspect, others equally unprincipled, upon the jury, it was wise in them to continue their connexion with the party in order to betray it in the next exigency. They may reckon securely upon the suppression of any brave utterances of the Union League, by the tricksters who have the final revision of all public declarations of the party, and—so, upon escaping scot-free. Our sole guarantee of the success of impeachment lay in the fear which certain Senators had of their constituencies. This fear, as the event has proven, was not strong enough to secure the success of the measure.

You may remember Mr. Editor, that immediately after Mr. Seward's return from Europe, he addressed a large audience in your city on political topics. On that occasion he declared that, having visited a number of the foremost countries of the Old World—he had returned directly from England—it was his deliberate conviction that there was not one of them which was not far behind the most backward of the States constituting the American Union, in intelligence, morality and prosperity. I do not pretend to quote his precise words, but this was certainly what he said in effect. Now in the *New York Tribune*, which was, I believe, at that time, in some sort his own organ, proof had just been furnished that in the single State of Arkansas alone, fourteen black men had, during the year which had lately expired, been publicly burned alive by slow fire. How this declaration of Mr. Seward's may have effected the minds of others I do not know—I have never had the least confidence in his principle or veracity afterward for I could not suppose him to be ignorant of the true condition of things in the South, especially as he had so long resided there.

I mention these facts only by way of illustration. Mr. Phillips justly complained in a recent article in THE STANDARD, of the fearful debauchery of conscience wrought by the leaders of the people which he very truly declared had reached such a pitch that there was no longer any capacity for judging between truth and falsehood—right and wrong. And it is by means similar to those I have alluded to that this has been accomplished. Like the pampered boy who has long been gorged with a diet of pound-cake, preserves and pastry, alternating with peppered condiments and cucumber pickles, the public has lost all relish for the wholesome food of simple truth. And our demagogues take advantage of the diseased mental habit prevailing by holding up to public odium as unpatriotic all who, like Mr. Phillips, expose their most insidious and dangerous practices.

Thus it is that Chief Justice Chase can, with impunity, prostitute the influence conferred upon him by his high office to screen the man who, through the assassination of his honest and upright predecessor, has been well-nigh enabled to overthrow even the semblance of self-government in this country; and thus it is that the New York *Evening Post* can, without a protest on the part of its patrons, labor to familiarize the public mind with the idea that the apostacy of Trumbull and Fessenden was the result of conscientious conviction. One has to live half an ordinary life-time to realize that such things can be successfully accomplished.

You doubtless hear much of the existence in Pennsylvania of what in the political slang of the day are called "Rings." These "Rings" are of *pure brass*—there is not a particle of genuine gold in them, and if, in any one of them, a brilliant point should strike your eye, do not, for a moment, allow yourself to be deceived—the imaginary gem will be found, upon a critical examination, to be nothing but paste.

To drop the figure, the most impudent and shameless perhaps of these "Rings" exists in Philadelphia, though it is hard to decide whether that or the one which controls the Legislature of Harrisburgh is entitled to the foremost rank. The Philadelphia *Morning Post* is laboring earnestly and ably to overthrow the power of these organizations, in which it is aided by a number of the most high-toned journals of the State. It is hoped by many that the Philadelphia gang will be broken up and thoroughly routed in the coming election.

In the meantime we labor for justice because it is right to do so, and if we fail we have the satisfaction of knowing that we have failed in defence of a righteous cause.

HOWARD W. GILBERT.

NEW ENGLAND WOMEN'S CLUB.

AMONG the many excellent meetings of Anniversary week, not the least interesting was the opening meeting of the New England Women's Club, held at Chickering Hall on Saturday morning, May 30th.

Mrs. C. M. Severance, the President, gave a clear and comprehensive statement of the aims and purposes of the organization. The Secretary read the articles of the constitution, and was followed by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe in an address at once earnest and entertaining.

Mrs. E. D. Cheney next spoke of the beneficent uses that might grow out of this union of noble women.

Addresses were also made by Rev. J. Weiss, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, James Freeman Clarke, and R. W. Emerson, each of whom took a warm interest in the movement, and prophesied for it a future of constantly increasing usefulness. Mr. Frothingham alluded to a Women's Club at this time forming in New York city, which has for its object kindred aims.

To judge from the tenor of the remarks made on this occasion, this union meets the wants of women on many sides. Those who wish merely for the outward comfort of a place of rest for a few hours while in the city will find a comfortable sofa in a quiet room. Those who feel the need of social life will meet there intelligent and earnest people. The philanthropic can there have an opportunity to consult with others of like aims, and to organize effective work.

A registry will be opened for the mutual benefit of those who have talents with which to earn their livelihood, and those seeking the employment of such talent.

Nor is the æsthetic element to be disregarded. The club proposes to embellish its rooms with paintings and other works of art; to provide books and pamphlets for the solitary leisure hour; social reunions, with their varied attractions of music, readings, etc., for the evenings' entertainment. *Boston Transcript.*

BUYING SENATORSHIPS.

To the Editor of the Standard:

A GREAT deal is said at this time about the purchase of Senators. As public opinion is being directed to that subject, it may be well to turn attention to the subject of buying seats in that body. There is now a strong contest going on in Louisiana over the two seats in the United States Senate. The honest Radicals desire the election of Mr. T. J. Durant, of New Orleans, a gentleman of ability and purity of character. His election would reflect credit upon the State, and is sure to take place if the wishes of the radical loyal masses are carried out in the matter.

But there is one of the most dangerous and corrupt Rings in New Orleans that exists in any portion of the Nation. Not even New York City can equal New Orleans in the practice of the trade of corruption. That trade is carried on by all parties and the ring is organized from men of every shade of politics. By skilful management it gets nominations out of Johnson, and confirmations out of the Senate. It has so managed that not an honest officer is left in New Orleans except two, and the President under the advice of the Whiskey Ring is trying to remove them.

That same Ring is now turning its attention to the election of United States Senators. Fearing Mr. Durant, they are trying to secure the election of their own member so as to be able to control perfectly both the money and patronage of the Government. The candidates were one A. S. Mansfield, a man who got rich by fraudulent cotton and other speculations during the war, and W. P. Kellogg, collector at New Orleans. Mr. Mansfield has made his boast that he had money enough to buy the Legislature, and no one unsatisfactory to him should be elected. Recently he has been arrested for crimes deserving punishment of death, and his Senatorial prospects are somewhat clouded. He has hit upon Gen. Frank Herron as a candidate in his place. Gen. Herron was a good soldier but not much of a Radical, and is Mr. Johnson's appointee to the office of U. S. Marshal. I have supposed him honest, but the company he keeps is no recommendation to him. This connection with Gen. Beauregard and others in the defalcations of a New Orleans Bank by which the government lost hundreds of thousands of dollars, does not aid him much as a fit candidate for so important an office.

It is here understood that Kellogg and Herron are candidates of the corrupt New Orleans Ring, and upheld by Mansfield and his crew. If that be so their election would be a scandal and do much to make reconstruction odious in the eyes of the Nation. When a man like Mansfield boasts that he has bought the Legislature and either himself and Kellogg, or Herron and Kellogg should be elected, it is time the election in Louisiana was looked after. Seven recreant Senators is quite enough of that material for that body. It ought not be added to bp a fresh importation from the Whiskey Ring at New Orleans.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

THE WATERLOO YEARLY MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Friends of Human Progress was held at Waterloo, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of last week. Among the speakers present were Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mr. C. D. B. Mills of Syracuse, Prof. William Denton of Boston, Mr. Ingalls, Mr. Charles L. Remond and Mr. A. M. Powell. Mr. Joshua Hutchinson was also present and added much to the interest of the occasion by his singing. The meetings were well attended and the most radical utterances of the speakers were warmly responded to. The following resolutions were adopted:

1. Resolved, That in the individual human soul we recognize the capacity for unlimited development and growth.

2. Resolved, That only upon individual obedience and fidelity to the laws of life can Society, as a whole, rely for real and permanent progress.

3. Resolved, That we congratulate all Friends of Progress upon the overthrow of the unjust, organized system of chattel slavery.

4. Resolved, That in the murderous hate shown to the colored people of the South; in the unjust political proscription and social ostracism on account of color at the North, we recognize the continued existence and activity of the spirit of slavery, which should be at once and forever exorcised by proper legislation, and by a conscientious public opinion.

5. Resolved, That we rejoice in the gratifying evidences of progress in regard to enlarged opportunities for woman, in the sphere of industry, of education in the professions of medicine and the ministry, in church government, and in the affairs of State; and we renew our demand for her unrestricted freedom in every department of responsible activity, and for full and equal enfranchisement.

6. Resolved, That any reconstruction of this government which does not secure all the rights of citizenship to all citizens (who are not convicted of crime), black and white, men and women, must fail to secure State and National safety, because it will be a violation of the principles of justice, and of a true republicanism.

7. Resolved, That we hail with lively satisfaction the movement now in progress for the enfranchisement of the women of the District of Columbia, and we urge members of Congress to lose no time in removing the restrictive limitation of sex as an elector's qualification within the District.

8. Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to propose an amendment to the Federal Constitution which shall forbid the disfranchisement of any citizen in any State on account of color, previous condition, or sex.

9. Resolved, That we denounce the action of the recent Republican Convention at Chicago in regard to suffrage as a practical surrender of the whole question as a National issue; as flagrant injustice to disfranchised colored men North and South, and to the women of the Nation.

10. Resolved, That in their continued opposition to the equal enfranchisement of colored men in the Northern States and at the South; in their reiteration of the inhuman doctrine that this is the "white man's government," and in their persistent opposition, as in the late Constitutional Convention in this State, to the enfranchisement of woman, the so-called Democratic party proves itself to be, as hitherto, in its support of slavery, slave-hunting, and the extension of slave-territory, the implacable enemy of freedom.

11. Resolved, That the failure of the recent impeachment trial does not absolve Congress from responsibility for Andrew Johnson's continued misrule, and the suffering which it inflicts, especially upon the blacks and loyal whites of the South, and we demand his arraignment upon new articles of impeachment, and his prompt deposition from office.

12. Resolved, That we deprecate as injurious and destructive to physical and moral health the use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and of tobacco in every form, and that no candidate for the pulpit, or for the presidential chair, is worthy of the suffrages of the enlightened friends of temperance, who habitually uses tobacco, or tampers with the intoxicating bowl.

13. Resolved, That as Friends of Human Progress, we can but express a deep interest in the discussion of the question now engaging the attention of the working people of this country, in regard to the existing relations between capital and labor—realizing that its just solution must restore labor to the dignity which nature accords it—by equalizing its awards without discrimination of sex or race.

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSAL PEACE SOCIETY.

The Universal Peace Society of the United States, established in Providence, R. I., two years ago, celebrated its Second Anniversary in Dodworth Hall, in this city, on Friday, May 15th. Among those present were Alfred H. Love of Phila., Levi K. Joslin of R. I., James M. Peebles of N. Y., Elizabeth B. Chace of R. I., Lucy Stone Blackwell of N. J., Ernestine L. Rose of N. Y., Mrs. Cora L. V. Daniels of La., Charles C. Burleigh of Mass., Andrew Jackson Davis of N. Y., Henry T. Child, M. D., of Phila., and other friends of the movement.

Mr. Alfred H. Love, the President of the Society, occupied the chair, and Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chace acted as Secretary.

The meeting was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m. by the President, who, in a brief address, defined the objects of the Society and invoked the spirit of Divine truth to guide in all their deliberations.

The Annual report of the Society was read, presenting a statement of operations in different sections of the country, the meetings held, branch Societies organized, etc., the whole exhibiting a gratifying result of labor for the year.

Letters from Horace Greeley, George C. Beckwith and other friends of the cause in different sections of the country were read, all expressing sympathy in the cause of Universal Peace.

Interesting addresses were made by Lucy Stone, Mrs. Cora L. V. Daniels, Aaron M. Powell, Alfred H. Love, Henry C. Wright, James M. Peebles, Gideon Frost, Father Beesom and others.

Henry T. Child, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following names for officers to serve the ensuing year, which were adopted:

President—A. H. Love, of Philadelphia, Pa. Vice Presidents—Levi K. Joslin, Providence, R. I.; A. B. Child, Boston, Mass.; Hon. George Thompson, England; Lucretia Mott, Philadelphia, Pa.; Wm. Chase, Providence, R. I.; James M. Peebles, Hammonton, N. J.; Aaron M. Powell, New York City; Professor J. H. K. Wilcoxson, Washington, D. C.; Joseph A. Dugdale, Mt. Pleasant; Isaac Winslow, Brooklyn, N. Y.; E. S. Webb, Keene, N. H.; Thomas Haskell, West Gloucester, Mass.; Samuel A. Horton, Rutland, Vt.; Joseph Carpenter, New Rochelle, N. Y.; Rachel M. Townsend, Philadelphia, Pa; J. B. Blanchard, Boston, Mass.; Thos. Garrett, Wilmington, Del.; Milo A. Townsend, New Brighton, Pa., and Z. P. White, Pawtucket. Corresponding Secretary—Henry T. Child, Philadelphia. Recording Secretaries—Laura Bliven, Providence, R. I.; Wm. P. Tomlinson, New York city. Treasurer, Robt. F. Wallcut, Boston, Mass. Executive Committee—Elizabeth B. Chace, Valley Falls, R. I.; Henry C. Wright, B. J. Butts, Hopedale, Mass.; H. N. Green, Boston, Mass.; Henry M. Lang, Philadelphia Pa.; Charles Perry, Westerly, R. I.; Dr. Chas. K. Wheeler, Boston, Mass.; Deborah L. Butler, Vineland, N. J.; A. Mary Wise, Philadelphia; Lysander S. Richards, Boston, Mass.; Rev. J. G. Fish, Hammonton, N. J.; Sarah G. Crosby, Albion, Me.; Sarah T. Rogers, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ezra H. Heywood, Worcester, Mass.; Jonathan Whipple, Mystic, Conn. Frederic Passy of Paris, France, Secretary of the International and Permanent League of Peace, J. M. Bielfield, President of the Peace Union of Havre, and F. Santellier were also appointed Vice Presidents.

After interesting afternoon and evening sessions, the Society adjourned to meet August next at Mystic, Connecticut.

YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

THIS Religious Society held its Sixteenth Annual Meeting at Longwood, Chester County, Pa., commencing the 4th inst. and continuing through three days. On the 7th, which was the day for general worship, a meeting was held for addresses and to meet the children.

A large number of friends from various States were in attendance throughout, and the well-known hospitality of Chester County Friends was fully sustained.

The meeting opened by appropriate tributes to the memory of the six deceased friends of the past year who formerly were active coadjutors. After impressive remarks and singing, Committees were appointed and testimonies presented on Temperance and the evils of Tobacco and Opium; Duty to the Freedmen; Women's Claims; the Ballot for the Black man; Treatment of Criminals; Capital and Labor; The Indian, with a Memorial to Congress in his behalf, and a kind letter to the Indian tribes representing the feelings for them, which were to be forwarded. The concluding paper was on Peace. These were adopted. Among those who took an active part were William Lloyd Garrison, Oliver Johnson, Henry Blanchard of the Independent Universalist Church, Brooklyn, J. Miller McKim, Alfred H. Love, Samuel J. May, Robert Purvis, Anna E. Dickinson, Richard D. Webb (Dublin, Ireland), Dr. John Cameron, Dr. Purvis, F. Israel, Dr. Stebbins, W. H. Hinckley. Deborah L. Butler, Chandler Darlington, John G. Jackson, Lydia Price, J. H. Mc Kay (Episcopal Minister), and Sarah Pearson. The remarks on all the subjects were listened to with the greatest attention, and those of a political nature excited unusual interest. The same officers were re-elected and the meeting arranged for publishing the proceedings and holding another meeting next year.

A. H. L.

THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

THE Second Anniversary of this Association, was held at Cooper Institute on Thursday, May 14th.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That suffrage is the inalienable right of every American citizen of sound mind and mature age, not legally convicted of crime, without qualification of sex or race.

Resolved, That our existing Governments, both State and National, will be Anti-Republican in form and Anti-Democratic in fact, so long as seven out of every twelve adult American citizens are excluded from the polls on account of sex and color.

Resolved, That the only way to decide whether women want to vote is to give them the opportunity of doing so.

Resolved, That The Republicans, in adopting the motto of "manhood suffrage," are bound to extend its application to women, otherwise it is no better in principle than the Democratic watchword of "a white man's government," an aristocracy of sex being no better than an aristocracy of color.

Resolved, That any reconstruction which does not establish woman's right to vote will fail to secure permanent peace and prosperity.

Resolved, That the American Equal Rights Association respectfully invite the National Conventions of both parties about to assemble for the nomination of a President, to embody in their respective platforms the political enfranchisement of women.

Resolved, That we petition Congress to extend suffrage to women in the District of Columbia and in the Territories.

Resolved, That we petition Congress to propose a Constitutional amendment prohibiting political distinctions on account of sex.

Resolved, That the laws which, in the District of Columbia and in almost every State, deprive married women of the equal custody of their children and of the control and disposition of their property and earnings, are a disgrace to the civilization of the age.

Resolved, That disfranchisement, under any pretext, means alike to men and women inadequate representation, inferiority, degradation and dependence.

Resolved, That class legislation is always selfish; that the rich cannot be trusted to make laws for the poor, nor the white for the black, nor man for woman—that the only safe government is one for the people, by the people, for the people.

Resolved, That the thanks of this association are due to the brave men in Kansas who, in defiance of party machinery, cast one-third of the entire vote of the State for woman suffrage.

LITERARY.

George William Curtis has recently written a beautiful tribute in memory of George Arnold.

Miss Warner the well-known author of THE WIDE, WIDE WORLD, has a new novel in the press of J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia which is shortly to be issued.

THE *Northern Monthly* has ceased to exist, and will hereafter be merged into *Putnam's Monthly*. It was first started as the *New Jersey Magazine*, and seemed at one time to give much promise.

Two new volumes have just been issued of Mr. Charles Dicken's edition of Dicken's works in which handiness of size, beauty of page, clearness of type, and new captions from Mr. Dicken's own hand over every other page, unite to give it an eminence over every other edition. "Oliver Twist," "Italy" and the "American Notes" are combined in one volume; "Barnaby Rudge" and "Hard Times" in another.

FOUL PLAY, the new novel by Charles Reade and Dion Boucicault, which has been running through *Every Saturday*, has just been issued by Ticknor & Fields in cheap form (seventy-five cents). The two-fold authorship in this case appears to be quite a success, for, although highly sensational in character, FOUL PLAY has attracted more than ordinary attention as a serial, and its publication in its present form will doubtless insure it a wide circulation.

The Phrenological Journal for June notices, among its leading characters, George Hall, first Mayor of Brooklyn; Phineas Staunton, Artist; Gov. Isaac Murphy; J. G. Holland ("Timothy Titcomb"); King Theodore; Thomas D'Arcy Magee, with portraits, biographical and phrenological sketches; Philosophy of Dreaming and Insanity; Mr. Beecher's Philosophy; The Secret of Success, for Young Men; Writing for the Press; Abyssinia and its People, etc. Published by S. R. Wells, 389 Broadway, New York.

WE are authorized to state that a new book of travel by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe is now in press, and will shortly be issued by Messrs. Lee & Shephard, of Boston. The title of the volume, "From the Oak to the Olive," sufficiently announces the subject of its contents, which will describe the interesting journey made by Mrs. Howe last summer when she had the pleasure of visiting with Dr. Howe the land of his earliest love and of his latest labors. A rare treat may be expected.

THE second number of *The Cretan*, the new paper started in Boston to awaken an interest in the cause of the struggling Cretans, contains a variety of interesting matter, among which is an eloquent appeal by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe for the Cretan Fair recently opened in Boston. *The Cretan* is a neatly printed paper, laboring earnestly in behalf of a gallant people, and we wish it may receive the support it merits.

PORTRAITS OF CELEBRATED WOMEN. By C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Translated from the French by H. W. Preston. Cloth, 384 pp. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Miss Preston is already favorably known as the translator of "The Life and Letters of Madame Swetchine," and the present volume will add largely to her reputation. Sainte-Beuve is the most untranslatable of French authors and the collection of *Portraits de Femmes* is probably the most difficult of all his works to "do into English." His elusive grace of diction, his "caressing" epithets, his softly incisive touches of characterization, his general power of delineating souls without giving undue prominence to any particular quality, have long been the despair of translators. Miss Preston has aimed chiefly to give his thought, without attempting to reproduce the unreachable felicities of his manner, and has succeeded in producing one of the most instructive and interesting books of the season. She has selected nine of Sainte-Beuve's "femmes," namely, Madame de Sevigne, Madame de La Fayette, Madame de Souza, Madame Roland, Madame de Stael, Madam de Duras, Madame de Remusat, Madame de Krudener, and Madame Guizot, each remarkable in herself, and each different from the others. The blending of biographical details with delicate analysis, of sympathy and insight, in the representation of the genius and individuality of these eminent women, is a triumph of interpretative critical art. Steele said that to have loved an admirable lady of his time was itself a liberal education. This may also be said of the careful study of Sainte-Beuve's feminine portraits.

RECEIVED.

PORTRAITS OF CELEBRATED WOMEN. By C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Translated from the French by H. W. Preston. Cloth, 384 pp. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

YOUNG AMERICA ABROAD. By Oliver Optic. Cloth, 346 pp. Boston: Lee & Shephard.

FOUL PLAY. A Novel. By Charles Reade and Dion Bonicault. With illustrations by George Du Maurier. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

ALL FOR GREED. A Novel. By the Baroness Blaze De Bury. Boston: Littell & Gay.

LINDA TRESSEL. A Tale. By the author of "Nina Balatka." Boston: Littell & Gay.

The Cretan. No. 2. Boston.

The Friend for June. New York: 131 William st.

Every Saturday. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Littell's Living Age. Boston: Littell & Gay.

Harper's Bazar. An Illustrated Ladies' Magazine o Fashion. New York: Harper & Brothers.

American Educational Monthly for June. New York: J. H. Schermerhorn & Co.

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A GERMAN TRUST SONG.

Just as God leads me, I would go;
I would not ask to choose my way;
Content with what he will bestow,
Assured he will not let me stray.
So as he leads, my path I make,
And step by step I gladly take,
A child in him confiding.

Just as God leads I am content:
I rest me calmly in his hands;
That which he has decreed and sent—
That which his will for me commands.
I would that he should all fulfill,
That I should do his gracious will
In living or in dying.

Just as God leads, I all resign;
I trust me to my Father's will;
When reason's rays deceptive shine,
His counsel would I yet fulfill;
That which His love ordained as right,
Before He brought me to the light,
My all to Him resigning.

Just as God leads me, I abide
In faith, in hope, in suffering true:
His strength is ever by my side—
Can aught my hold on him undo?
I hold me firm in patience, knowing
That God my life is still bestowing—
The best in kindness sending.

Just as God leads, I onward go,
Oft amid thorns and briars seen;
God does not yet his guidance show—
But in the end it shall be seen
How, by a loving Father's will,
Faithful and true, he leads me still.

[*Lampertus*, 1625.

FLORENCE.

THE STUDIOS OF THE ARTISTS—MR. HIRAM POWERS—METHODS OF SCULPTURE—INVENTIONS OF THE AMERICAN GENTLEMAN—A SCULPTOR'S MACHINE SHOP.

FLORENCE, April, 1868.

AMONG all the attractions of Florence, and they are many and great, I think nothing gives the traveler who has a few weeks, or even days, to rest here, a greater satisfaction than a tour of the principal studios. I say the *principal* ones; for if he were to attempt to visit all, he would find time for little else, so great is their number, when sculptors, painters and copyists are included in the list. One is sure of a kindly welcome, a pleasant chat with the artist, and an invitation to repeat the visit when convenient. We always thoroughly enjoy our call, and are never made to feel that we are intruding.

I believe that every American and English traveller at least turns first to the studio of Mr. Powers, of whom our country may well be proud, both as a sculptor and as a *man;* and if the traveller remains for months in Florence he returns again and again to impress upon his mind the beautiful objects, the "Poems in Marble," with which the rooms are filled, and converse with the author of them. It well repays one for a long and tedious journey even to have the privilege of wandering through the studios of our own countrymen alone, seeing, as we can scarcely ever hope to do at home, an entire collection of their works, from their first commencement, gathered together in one suit of rooms, with the artist himself to name them to you, giving you bits of history or incidents connected with them, which fasten them indelibly in your memory. That of Mr. Powers, which consists in all of ten rooms, may well be termed a gallery of sculpture. I shall never forget the genial, hearty welcome which we always received from him. Mr. Powers is a man beloved and respected, I believe, by every one who knows him. Gentle, unaffected, a most entertaining conversationist, and generous to the last degree. I speak advisedly; for I have heard many artists, American and Italian, talk of his goodness and their indebtedness to him. He receives no pupils in his studio; but every young artist or student can go to him for advice, encouragement and information, and is sure of receiving all, fully and freely. I was in the studio of a young sculptor a few days since, and seeing the portrait of Mr. Powers roughly sketched in crayon on the wall, alluded to him, when the young artist exclaimed with enthusiasm, "I *know* him to be one of the very best and kindest men in the world." Another day in the studio of one of the first Florentine sculptors I saw a framed photograph of Mr. Powers. Noticing that we were looking at it, the occupant commenced speaking of him, and said that all the sculptors were indebted to Mr. Powers for many improvements, which had simplified their labors very much, and he spoke affectionately of the kindly nature which always prompted him whenever he made a discovery (no matter how long it had taken him to perfect the idea after conceiving it, or how difficult it had been to arrange everything to his satisfaction) to immediately describe it to and assist his brother sculptors of whatever nation, to reap the benefit of it.

Sculptors are obliged to model on a movable platform that they can turn back and forth, raise, lower, etc. They had previous to Mr. Power's invention used sets of wooden rollers, very difficult and awkward to manage, and requiring great strength to turn. Mr. Powers became particularly alive to the disadvantages of this method when modeling one of his colossal statues, and as with him to be aware of a difficulty, is to invent a remedy, he did so in this case, by arranging two platforms, one above the other, with an iron screw in the centre, in such a way that the upper one, on which is the heavy weight of iron and clay, can, with the slightest pressure, be moved in any direction. As soon as he found it answered his purpose perfectly, he immediately showed it to others, who adopted it at once with delight.

I suppose every one knows, in a general way, that a statue is first modeled in clay; but few, perhaps, have thought of all the trials and cares, and annoyances, and labor which the sculptor endures before it is finished and ready to be cast in plaster. (It was this which first suggested the idea to Mr. Powers to model in plaster altogether instead of clay—but of that hereafter.) The Florentine sculptor described this to us that we might better understand how much they were indebted to *our* Mr. Powers. After having their idea of what they intend to produce entirely arranged—they model a rough little statuette—then the general lines of the figure-to-be are formed (on the platform) of iron rods and bars, and firmly fastened; on these are fixed the moist clay, and in time it is beaten and moulded, and smoothed and formed, and becomes the beautiful thing which the sculptor had in his brain from the commencement.

But here is the trouble; the clay must be kept moist all the time; if allowed to dry it is spoiled, if made too wet it settles down, destroying the proportions of the figure even when nearly finished or the arms drop off, or some portion of the body gets awry. The idea, then, is to keep the clay sufficiently moist, but not too wet; the old method was to swathe the figure in wet bandages—cloth was torn into long strips of different widths and wound about the body after being well wetted. If the artist were ill or away and did not work upon it for a few days, the bandages must be kept of the requisite dampness, for if allowed to dry the clay would peel off with the cloth. When you consider that it takes months, sometimes years, to finish a colossal statue, you will have an idea of the constant care required.

When Mr. Powers first came here and took his studio, he immediately arranged two or three cylindrical covers for his statues—simply formed of two hoops as large as he required; the top one and the sides covered with oil-cloth—in short, like a barrel of the height he desired, open at one end. These were fastened to the ceiling and arranged with pulleys, so that at night he had simply to lower his cover and his clay could not dry of course for a long time. It was but a simple thing—and yet none of the rest had ever thought of it. Some of the Italians visiting his studio, observing these curious looking things depending from his ceiling, asked what they were for. When he told them, they were exceedingly astonished, asking if it was possible they answered the purpose, and if he did not swathe his figures—and he was more astonished than they, that it had never occurred to them before. Of course they immediately spread the news, and now they hang from every sculptor's ceiling.

There was one more trouble to be obviated. The sculptors wet their clay when necessary with a brush, which they filled and shook upon it, but they could not do it evenly; sometimes too much would be thrown on, so that the drops collected together and ran down in streams, wetting the platform and making it damp to stand upon, and the clay would get too much saturated at the lower part of the figure. So this good genius of sculptors set his brain at work again, and invented a syringe with a large nozzle, fitted with a gold plate pierced with innumerable little holes—so fine in fact as to be almost invisible. This did very well after the water was in, but it took so long to fill it that he was obliged to remedy the annoyance by causing the plate to be a movable one. So that when he drew the water in, it moved back, leaving a large space, and it filled immediately; then in throwing the water out, it pressed and held the plate back in its place. But the holes were so small that the little dirt or oily dust which always collects in a syringe however carefully kept, clogged them in a very short time; so then he placed a fine sponge in the nozzle in some way, so that it caught all the dust or any other matter, and only the pure water passed through, and it has always worked perfectly, never getting out of order. He immediately found a mechanic to whom he gave instructions and who has made them ever since, so that every sculptor can possess one. It throws directly upon any part of the figure desired a fine spray, a sort of vapor-like dampness which is precisely the thing required. And for all these things and his numerous other discoveries and inventions, which are many, (I have not space to allude to a tithe of them), he never receives the slightest remuneration. One of the most celebrated Florentine sculptors—sufficiently well-known and successful himself, to give his brother artists their due without envy—gave me the greater part of the above information.

Mr. Powers now models all his statues in plaster; for his busts, he still uses cinnamon-colored American clay. As the greater part of the latter are portraits to be steadily worked upon until finished and cast, there are not the same difficulties to encounter as in modeling a statue; but the thought frequently occurred to him that it would be infinitely more convenient to work in plaster altogether. Blessed with the most indomitable perseverance and patience, after once satisfying himself that a thing is possible no amount of labor deters him, and any number of failures serve but to encourage him to work on until he has succeeded in his aim.

Adjoining his studio he has a little machine shop, in which, when over-weary with studio labors, he passes many hours working out some of the many inventions to which his fertile brain has given birth. He makes all the instruments and tools which he uses in his studio, and which are of fine steel, light and delicate, instead of the rather clumsy wooden ones in general use. He confessed that but for his knowledge of mechanics and the facilities he had for making such instruments from time to time as he required, he should never have been able to carry the idea of modeling in plaster to perfection. and that it was not at all likely to be adopted by others, but now that he had overcome all the obstacles he found it a great advantage. He can throw down his tools at night and leave his statue for an indefinite period—for *years*, if he chooses—then taking them up again commence at the very spot he left, to work upon it again.

The process, as he explained it, was very ingenious and interesting to us. He first arranges the lines of his figure on his movable platform of iron bars and rods; these he fastens firmly together in place, and thus has his skeleton; he then mixes his plaster, which before it is hard he cuts or creases into blocks of different shapes and sizes, such as he knows he will require. Then when they are hard he arranges them on his skeleton, compactly fastening them together with moist plaster, which when it "sets" forms one solid mass. This is then fashioned into a semblance of the future statue with more moist plaster, and then he goes on from one process to another which I could never in this letter give an idea of, until the beautiful thing approaches completion. He had proceeded slowly but satisfactorily up to that point, when his troubles commenced anew. He found that, however sharp a knife, chisel, or what not he used in finishing, tiny bits would break out, or chip off, destroying the beauty of the surfaces. After much consideration he decided that the only way to "finish" was by using files, of various shapes and sizes; he had found the *idea* truly, but in *use* they clogged so fast with the lime dust, that he could make but slow progress. Then it occurred to him that they must be *open* files. *Files*, but with a hole behind each tooth for the dust to pass through and fall off. He made them and they worked like a charm. I saw quantities of them lying about, of every size and shape—curved, straight, broad, narrow; some with holes the size of a shot: others, (those used at the very last to to put on the fine skin-like texture), as fine as the eye of a needle. Some are to push forward simply, others only to draw backward; some take off the plaster in quantities, others only a tiny dust; but his work was accomplished, and he pursues his labors with perfect ease, and at his leisure. The arms and head are fastened on in such a way that they can be removed at pleasure, and in that way worked upon more easily.

I see that I have even now exceeded my limits, and must close this abruptly, deferring my description of his studio and its contents until my next letter.

MAZETTA.

Correspondence of the Boston Daily Advertiser.

A WEATHER TOY.—A Bostonian has a toy barometer on exhibition which consists of a miniature cottage, with two doors. At one of these stands a man, clad in such purple and fine linen as constitute a Sunday-go-to-meeting garb in New England, while at the other appears a female arrayed in like apparel. These twain seem to watch the impending weather. If there are signs of rain, the man, with a noble bravery worthy of a better fate, steps boldly out of doors, while the woman shrinks into the cottage. But if the signs are favorable, the woman goes forth to shop and gossip, while the man stays at home and tends house and baby. A thermometer forms part of the household furniture of this institution.

THE WEIGHT OF A TEAR.

A pair of scales before him—
A rich man sat and weighed
A piece of gold—a widow's all,
And unto her he said:

"Your coin is not the proper weight,
So take it back again,
Or sell it me for half its worth—
It lacks a single grain."

With tearful eye the widow said:
"Oh, weigh it, sir, once more;
I pray you be not so exact,
Nor drive me from your door."

"Why, see yourself, it's under weight;
Your tears are no avail."
The second time he tries it,
It just bears down the scale.

But little guessed that rich man,
Who held his gold so dear,
That the extra weight that bore it down
Had been the widow's tear.

OUR LITTLE NEWSBOY.

BY LOUISA ALCOTT.

"HURRYING to catch a certain car, at a certain corner, late one stormy night, I was suddenly arrested by the sight of a queer-looking bundle lying in a door-way.

'Bless my heart, it's a child! O John! I'm afraid he's frozen!' I exclaimed to my brother, as we both bent over the bundle.

Such a little fellow as he was, in the big, ragged, coat; such a tired, baby face, under the fuzzy cap; such a purple, little hand, still holding fast a few papers; such a pathetic sight altogether, was the boy, lying on the stone step, with the snow drifting over him—that it was impossible to go by.

'He is asleep; but he'll freeze, if left so, long. Here, wake up, my boy; and go home, as fast as you can,' cried John, with a gentle shake, and a very gentle voice; for the memory of a dear little lad, safely tucked up at home, made him fatherly-kind to the small vagabond.

The moment he was touched, the boy tumbled up, and, before he was half awake, began his usual cry with an eye to business.

'Paper, sir?' 'Herald!'—'Transkip!'—'Last ——' a great gap swallowed up the 'last edition;' and he stood blinking at us like a very chilly young owl.

'I'll buy 'em all, if you'll go home, my little chap; it's high time you were abed,' said John, whisking the damp papers into one pocket, and his purse out of another, as he spoke.

'All of 'em?—why there's six!' croaked the boy, for he was as hoarse as a raven.

'Never mind, I can kindle a fire with 'em. Put that in your pocket; and trot home, my man, as fast as possible.'

'Where do you live?' I asked, picking up the fifty cents that fell from the little fingers, too benumbed to hold it.

'Mills Court; out of Hanover. Cold, ain't it?' said the boy, blowing on his purple hands, and hopping feebly, from one leg to the other to take the stiffness out.

'He can't go all that way in this storm—such a mite, and so used up with cold and sleep—John.'

'Of course, he can't; we'll put him in a car,' began John; when the boy wheezed ont,—

'No; I've got ter wait for Sam. He'll be along, as soon's the theatre's done. He said he would; and so I'm waitin.'

'Who is Sam?' I asked.

'He's the feller I lives with. I ain't got any folks, and he takes care o' me.'

'Nice care, indeed; leaving a baby like you, to wait for him here, such a night as this,' I said, crossly.

'Oh, he's good to me, Sam is; though he does knock me round sometimes, when I an't spry. The big fellers shoves me back, you see; and I gets cold, and can't sing out loud; so I don't sell my papers, and has to work 'em off late.'

'Hear the child talk! One would think he was sixteen, insead of six,' I said, half-laughing.

'I'm most ten. Hi!—ain't that a oner?' cried the boy, as a gust of sleet slapped him in the face, when he peeped to see if Sam was coming. 'Hullo! the lights is out! Why, the play's done, and the folks gone; and Sam's forgot me.'

It was very evident, that Sam *had* forgotten his little *protege;* and a strong desire to shake Sam posessed me.

'No use waitin' any longer; and now my papers is sold, I ain't afraid to go home,' said the boy, stepping down, like a little old man with the rheumatism, and preparing to trudge away through the storm.

'Stop a bit, my little Casibianca; a car will be along, in fifteen minutes; and while waiting you can warm yourself over there,' said John, with the purple hand in his.

'My name's Jack Hill, not Cassy Banks, please sir,' said the little party with dignity.

'Have you had your supper, Mr. Hill?' asked John laughing.

'I had some peanuts, and two sucks of Joe's orange; but it warn't very fillin',' he said gravely.

'I should think not. Here!—one stew; and be quick, please,' cried John, as we sat down in a warm corner of the confectioner's opposite.

While little Jack shovelled in the hot oysters—with his eyes shutting up now and then, in spite of himself—we looked at him, and thought again of little Rosy-face at home, safe in his warm nest, with mother-love watching over him. Nodding toward the ragged, grimy, forlorn little creature—dropping asleep over his supper like a tired baby—I said—

'Can you imagine our Freddy, out alone at this hour, trying to 'work off' his papers, because afraid to go home till he has?'

'I'd rather not try,' answered brother John, winking hard, as he stroked the little head beside him, which, by the by, looked very like a ragged yellow door-mat. I think brother John winked hard, but I can't be sure, for I know I did; and for a minute there seemed to be a dozen newsboys dancing before my eyes.

'There goes our car; and it's the last,' said John, looking at me.

'Let it go, but don't leave the boy;' and I frowned at John, for hinting such a thing.

'Here is his car. Now, my lad, bolt your last oyster, and come on.'

'Good-night, ma'am! Thankee, sir!' croaked the grateful, little voice, as the child was caught up in John's strong hands, and set down on the car-step.

With a word to the conductor, and a small business transaction, we left Jack coiled up in a corner, to finish his nap as tranquilly as if it wasn't midnight, and a 'knocking round' might not await him at his journey's end.

We didn't mind the storm much, as we plodded home; and when I told the story to Rosy-face, next day, his interest quite reconciled me to the sniffs and sneezes of a bad cold.

'If I saw that poor little boy, Aunt Weedy, I'd love him lots!' said Freddy, with a world of pity in his beautiful child's eyes.

And, believing that others also would be kind to little Jack, and such as he, I tell the story.

When busy fathers hurry home at night, I hope they'll buy their papers of the small boys, who get 'shoved back;' the feeble ones, who grow hoarse, and can't 'sing out:' the shabby ones, who, evidently, have only forgetful Sams to care for them; and the hungry-looking ones, who don't get what is 'fillin'.' For love of the little sons and daughters safe at home, say a kind word, buy a paper, even if you don't want it; and never pass by, leaving them to sleep forgotten in the streets at midnight, with no pillow but a stone, no coverlid but the pitiless snow, and not even a tender-hearted robin to drop leaves over them."

Merry's Museum.

HAPPINESS.

BY J. R. LOWELL.

WING-footed! thou abid'st with him
That asks it not; but he who hath
Watched o'er the waves thy fading path
Will never more on ocean's rim,
At morn or eve, behold returning
The high-heaped canvass shoreward yearning;
Thou only teaches us the core
And inmost meaning of No More;
Thou, who first showest us thy face
Turned o'er the shoulder's parting grace,
And whose sad footprints we can trace
Away from every mortal door!

SCARLET SERPULA.

THIS is the name of a most beautiful little creature not more than an inch long, who lives at the bottom of the sea, and builds for himself a fine limestone house. You think this impossible, children, but it is strictly true; and I can assure you that the more you study into the works of our heavenly Father, the more wonders you will find.

When the baby serpula first begins to look about him, he finds himself in a very small house, being in fact about as large as a thread. This is the nursery, which, of course, is all the room a baby needs; but as he grows, and wants more room, he goes to work and enlarges his home, building larger as he grows; till at last, when he is full-grown and has finished his house by building a drawing-room in front, it is about as large as a pipe-stem. The little fellows are sociable, and build in groups, or what one might fancy villages; and the houses do not stand straight up, but twist around each other in the oddest way; so that one of these villages looks like a heap of pipe-stems, strangely twisted together.

The little housekeeper never leaves his house; but he often sits in the door and spreads his lovely red "gill tufts," which look like an exquisite red fan, outside of the door. Unlike housekeepers out of the sea, this little one needs no kitchen at all. He has the nicest possible arrangement both for eating and cleaning house, which puts our clumsy contrivances to shame. This is how he does it. When he feels hungry, or thinks his house needs cleaning, he just seats himself in the door, and draws the sea-water into his large mouth. It goes in with quite a current, and all that is good for food—and there's plenty of food in it—stays in the stomach. The water goes on, right through the serpula, and dashes into the back rooms of the house, even the deserted nursery. Hitting against the walls, it bounds up and back again, pouring out over the neck of the scarlet creature, carrying with it all the dirt and muss of housekeeping. Isn't that nicer than a scrub-brush and broom, with a girl to wield them? But this is not the cleverest arragement of this neat housekeeper. To close his house, he has not a door—but a cork, like the stopper to a bottle. It is fastened to a long kind of arm, and when the gentleman wishes to retire to the privacy of his own room, he coolly draws in this arm, and securely corks up his house. This aristocrat living in a limestone house, has humble cousins who make similar houses of mud, actually taking up minute pieces of mud, shaping them into suitable blocks, and thus constructing their simple houses. These poor cousins have no door or stopper to their homes, and in consequence are eaten instead of eating.

New Church Magazine.

A WINTER MOONLIGHT.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

THE moon above the eastern wood
Shone at its full; the hill-range stood
Transfigured in the silver flood,
Its brown snows flashing cold and keen
Dead white, save where some sharp ravine
Took shadow, or the sombre green
Of hemlocks turned to pitchy black
Against the whiteness at their back.
For such a world and such a night
Most fitting that unwarming light,
Which only seemed where'er it fell
To make the coldness visible.

Mr. Emerson will never be very popular in England, where his defects and merits are alike generally uncongenial. He alarms our Philistinism by the aggressive independence and strong countercurrents of his thought, and repels our anti-Philistinism by his vehemence of expression. Our middle classes rally against him round the pillars of their Church and State. Of the refined minority, those who hesitate at heart between the liberal creed and ultra montane sympathies turn scornfully away from his samplers of excellence to the "Acta Sanctorum." Our apostles of culture intensifying his moral, repudiate his artistic blemishes; they agree with him in theoretically despising plain facts and plain men, and unlike him they carry their theory into practice, but their views of style are hopelessly at variance. The later followers of Bentham, whom he has never fairly appreciated, recognize him only as an ill-informed adversary. Yet the time has come when well-educated Englishmen of all sects ought frankly to acknowledge the high qualities of a mind, on the whole the loftiest that the world of letters in New England has hitherto produced. In memory of these qualities, the thoughts of his countrymen will continue, with or without the sanction of foreigners, to revert, with respect and gratitude, to the old-fashioned village straggling through the meadows where the Assabeth unites with the Muskataquid to creep towards the sea, famous as the first battle-field of the Revolutionary war, and as the birth-place of American Trancendentalism.

North British Review.

TRICHINOSCOPES.—There is now being sold in Paris a small pocket-lens which is called a trichinoscope. Can you imagine for what it is intended? I suppose you have heard of certain deadly worms—small as hairs, and, therefore, called trichinæ—which infest pork? It is intended by means of the trichinoscope that if you have sausage or ham placed before you at table, you should be in a position to ascertain by ocular demonstration whether or not it is pervaded by parasites! Surely it is better to abjure the unclean beast altogether than to be afflicted with such hideous fears of the consequences of eating him. I saw a distinguished chemist, the other day, begin his dinner by swallowing some pills of pepsine, made from the stomach of a pig. The pills were intended to enable him to digest the huge dinner which he had vowed to devour.—*Once a Week.*

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